

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE

**RIGHT
TO DIE?**
ACLU on
Gilmore
case
—PAGE 7

**DEBS
VS.
ABEL**

CLASH OF IDEAS SHEDS LIGHT
ON STEELWORKERS ELECTION
CAMPAIGN TODAY. PAGE 16.

ERA

DEMONSTRATIONS TO DEMAND
ERA RATIFICATION. PAGE 6.

SHAH'S G-MEN

IRAN SECRET POLICE AT
WORK INSIDE U.S. PAGE 14.

**HAMPTON
TRIAL**

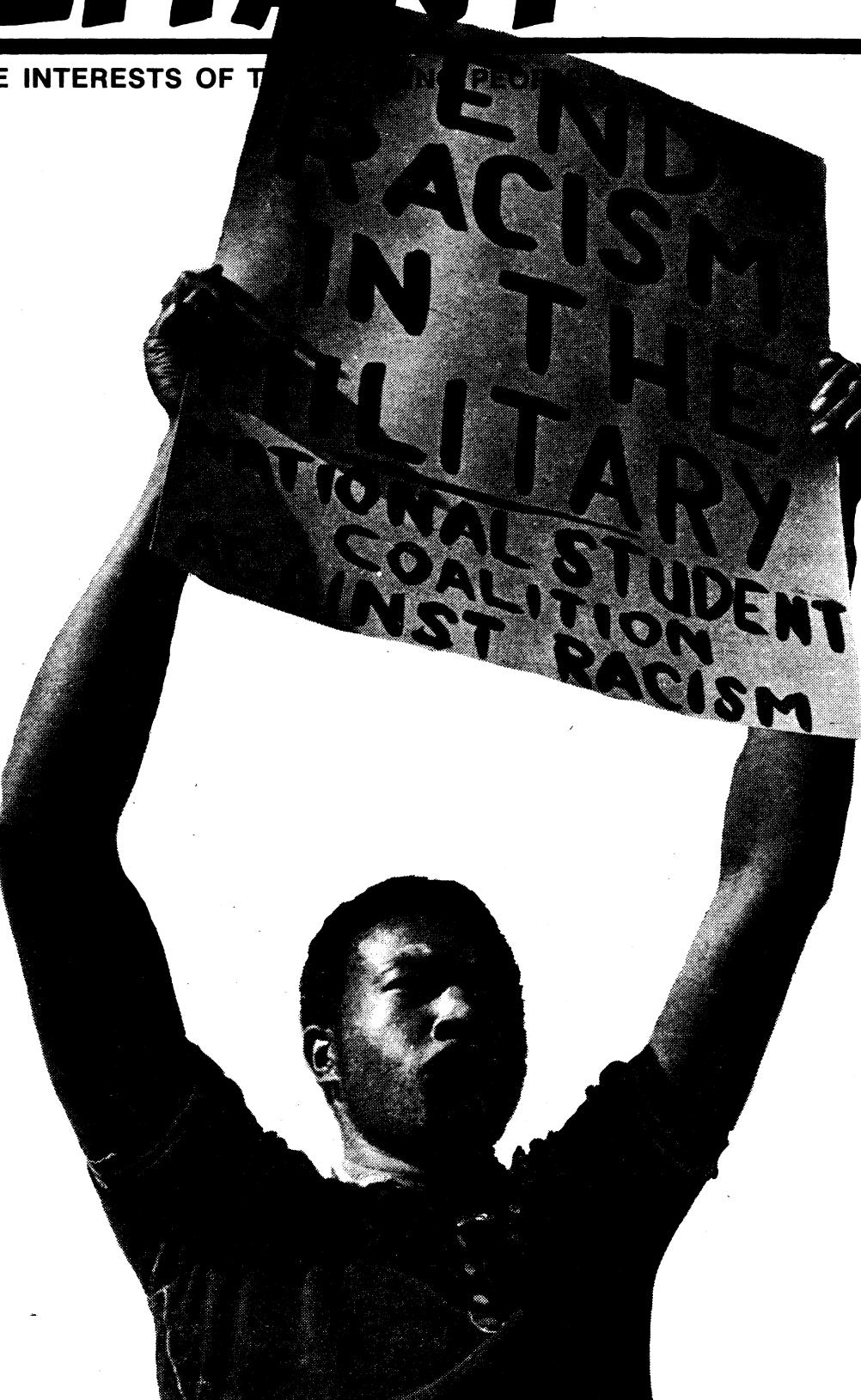
FBI SPY IN PANTHERS TELLS
OF DIRTY TRICKS. PAGE 13.

**IMMIGRATION
COUNSELORS
FACE PRISON**

MANZO DEFENDANTS CALL
FOR NATIONAL AID. PAGE 8.

**ABORTION
VICTORY
IN QUEBEC**

DR. MORGENTALER WINS
FREEDOM. PAGE 4.



Militant/Joseph Ryan

THE KLAN IN THE CORPS
RACISM IN THE MARINES
Demonstrators ask freedom
for 15 Blacks in brig
at Camp Pendleton

—PAGE 3

PREGNANCY RULING
Court puts profits
before women's rights

—PAGE 5

THIS WEEK'S MILITANT

- 4 Real story of the New York crisis
- 5 Pregnancy ruling: profits before rights
- 6 Actions to demand ERA ratification
- 7 Why ACLU opposes Gilmore's execution
- 8 Manzo defendants call for national support
- 9 How media covered SWP campaign
- 13 FBI spy testifies in Hampton case
- 14 World protests halt hanging of Murrays
- 15 D.C. court attacks press operators
- 16 Debs vs. Abel
- 18 Spain: women's struggle 'vigorous & growing'
- 28 YSA fights for free speech

2 In Brief

10 In Our Opinion Letters

11 National Picket Line Women in Revolt

12 The Great Society By Any Means Necessary Their Government

24 In Review: Trotsky on China

WORLD OUTLOOK

- 19 Arg. prisoners tell of life behind bars
- 20 Japanese Trotskyists on recent election
- 21 World News Notes
- 22 Mexico: peasant land occupations

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In Brief

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL LAUNCHES CAMPAIGN: Amnesty International, a human rights group with chapters in thirty-three countries, has proclaimed 1977 "International Prisoners of Conscience Year."

AI-USA chairperson Whitney Ellsworth explained to a December 8 news conference, "While Amnesty International has grown steadily . . . important human rights of hundreds of thousands around the world are more in jeopardy than ever."

AI plans are to circulate a worldwide petition demanding the release of all "prisoners of conscience."

Also speaking at the news conference were U.S. Rep. Paul McCloskey (R-Calif.); Isabel Letelier, widow of former Chilean Ambassador Orlando Letelier; Reza Baraheni, a former Iranian political prisoner who is honorary chairperson of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran; and Vladimir Dremluga, who was imprisoned for a year in Siberia for his role in a 1968 protest of the Soviet Union's invasion of Czechoslovakia.

*The last issue of the *Militant* before our holiday break will be dated December 31. We will not publish for one week. The first issue after the break will be dated January 14, 1977.*

JOANNE LITTLE WINS AT PAROLE HEARING: Attempts by North Carolina to block Joanne Little's eligibility for parole were overruled December 1 by Pitt County Judge Phillips. Little was acquitted of murder charges in 1975 after nationwide protests supported her right to self-defense against a rape attempt by a racist white jailer. At the time of this assault, Little was in jail on a seven-year burglary sentence. She has completed a little more than one-fourth of this sentence.

Little's attorney Jerry Paul told the *Militant* that Little is an honor grade prisoner with no violations on her record. "The only reason they wouldn't release her now," he said, "is because of who she is." Approval of Little's parole, according to Paul, could come by December 19.

PROTEST SUPPORTS COLEGIO CESAR CHAVEZ: Some 150 supporters of Oregon's embattled, Chicano-run Colegio César Chávez braved a cold Portland, Oregon, rain December 6 to picket the offices of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Militant correspondent Fred White reports that the *colegio* has been unable to meet all the payments on a \$1 million debt inherited when Chicanos took over the former Mt. Angel College from the Benedictine Sisters in 1973.

HUD is threatening to put the school up for auction. Chicanos are demanding that the government declare the *colegio* surplus property, a move that would allow them to continue the school without further harassment.

Leaders of this struggle are asking that letters of support be sent to them at: Colegio César Chávez, Mt. Angel, Oregon 97362, with copies to HUD Secretary Carla Anderson Hills, Room 10,000, 451 Seventh Street SW, Washington, D.C. 20024.

VICTORY IN UPS STRIKE: A twelve-week strike by 18,000 East Coast Teamster union members has forced major concessions from United Parcel Service. The settlement, approved December 9 by a large majority of the strikers, will narrow the wage gap between full- and part-time employees and block company plans to eliminate full-time jobs.

A summary of the contract—not the full text—was presented to members of Teamsters Local 639 in the Washington area, one of the seventy-four locals involved. It said hourly wages for part-timers will rise from \$4.60 to \$5.58 immediately, and to \$7.85 over the two-and-a-half-year contract. That's an immediate 21 percent raise and 71 percent over the life of the contract. Full-timers' wages will rise from \$7.84 to \$10.05, a 28 percent increase.

UPS will not be permitted to replace full-time inside workers with part-timers through attrition, as it had sought. Instead, it must maintain the present number of full-time positions and give part-timers first crack at any new full-time openings.

Local 639 approved the settlement by a vote of 338 to 39. Most workers thought it was a good contract, with a union victory on the key issues. They also faced bills piling up and were anxious to get some income for Christmas shopping.

LOUISVILLE TEACHERS RATIFY CONTRACT: A mass meeting of 4,500 Louisville teachers on December 13 voted overwhelmingly to accept a new contract and end their ten-day-old strike. "All the main demands of the teachers were achieved, with only minor compromises," reports Mark McCaulley, a member of the Jefferson County Teachers Association. The settlement includes an average 8.6 percent salary increase.

According to McCaulley, "Union leaders were quick to

acknowledge that the strike was won not at the negotiating table, but on the picket lines and in the shopping centers where tens of thousands of leaflets were passed out."

A poll conducted by the Louisville *Courier-Journal* found that 78 percent of the people felt that teachers have the right to strike, and 74 percent actually supported the strike.

"The union also scored a major victory in court, where it managed to void a 1970 injunction barring teachers from striking," McCaulley reports.

D.C. FORUM PROTESTS 'MIGRA' DRAGNET: Fifty community activists attended a Washington, D.C., Militant Forum December 10 to protest a recent Immigration and Naturalization Service raid on a predominantly Latino crowd watching a soccer match.

Speakers included United Farm Workers staff member Chris Donahue and Maura Rodriguez of the Socialist Workers party. Protest statements were also read by Klaus May for the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee and Laura Scott for the National Student Coalition Against Racism.

DEMAND INVESTIGATION OF ATTACKS ON SWP: The New Orleans Socialist Workers party held a well-attended news conference December 8 to blast Mayor Moon Landrieu for his "default on his elementary obligation to guarantee and protect" the democratic rights of citizens.

Three days earlier, bricks had been thrown through the windows of the SWP bookstore, damaging a wall and valuable bookstore stock. The week before, Nazi swastikas had been painted on the socialists' front door.

At the news conference an open letter to Mayor Landrieu was released, signed by Marlene Roeder, president of the New Orleans American Civil Liberties Union; attorney Jack Peebles; Patsy Cannon of the Student Coalition Against Racism; and John Vodicka of the Louisiana Coalition on Jails and Prisons. The letter demanded a full public investigation until those responsible for the violent attacks on the SWP are apprehended and prosecuted.

TEX ANTOINE OUT IN THE COLD: The well-known ABC-TV weather forecaster provoked a furor several weeks ago in New York when he opened his nightly report with a sexist and racist crack about rape.

The news report right before Antoine's spot told of an eight-year-old girl who had been attacked by a would-be rapist.

"With rape so predominant in the news lately," Antoine said, "Confucius once say: 'If rape is inevitable, relax and enjoy it.'"

Calls and protests from women who do not particularly "enjoy" the idea of rape poured in to the television station. Antoine was suspended. On December 7, ABC announced that the weather forecaster will not get his job back.

—Peter Seidman



Holiday gift idea

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Racism rampant in marines

'A few good men': the Klan in the corps

By Mark Schneider and Marc Rich

OCEANSIDE, Calif.—Standing outside the bus station here you notice something different about this small California town. There are large numbers of crewcut and fit young men lugging green duffle bags. They are marines.

Forty miles north of San Diego, Oceanside is the home of Camp Pendleton. It's the largest marine base on the West Coast.

And Camp Pendleton is the home of one of the largest Ku Klux Klan chapters on the West Coast.

Fourteen Black marines at Pendleton have been charged with assaulting a group of whites in a barracks November 13. Marine prosecutors say they will seek to change the charges to conspiracy to commit murder.

At first Pendleton authorities tried to portray the November 13 incident as an unprovoked attack by Black marines against whites.

The director of the San Diego Urban League, Clarence Pendleton, Jr., then disclosed information baring an official marine cover-up of Klan anti-Black agitation on base.

The Pendleton brass were forced to change their story and admit that the Klan had been organizing on the base. Post officials now say that the fourteen Blacks mistakenly thought they were fighting a group of Klansmen on November 13.

The Black marines, however, still have not been able to tell the public their version of what happened.

The "exalted cyclops" of the Pendleton Klan, Cpl. Daniel Bailey, has said that "our people were in the next room" to the one where the fight between the Blacks and whites took place.

Post officials reported finding a

cache of weapons and a list of sixteen Klan members in the room where Cyclops Bailey says the Klan was meeting. The weapons included a .357 magnum revolver, clubs, and knives.

Bailey told the press that Klan members were arming themselves.

In reaction to the public furor over revelations of KKK agitation in the marines, Bailey and several other known Klansmen were transferred to other parts of the country. Bailey says there are still more than 100 secret Klan members at Pendleton.

David Duke, a national KKK leader, flew into town to mobilize support for the Klan. Duke said he planned to meet with local retired admirals and generals who support the KKK.

Although local newspapers and television stations have deluged the public with daily interviews with Klan leaders and marine brass, not a word has been heard from the Black marines in the brig.

Militant reporters tried to interview the Black prisoners, but were barred from entering the base.

Discussions with a number of marines on a busy downtown street corner gave a glimpse of what is happening on base and the kind of racial abuse Blacks suffer in the Marine Corps.

"This whole thing started when a group of whites yelling 'KKK' busted into a Black party and stabbed a brother," said a marine who had been at Pendleton for fourteen months.

"It's pitiful," he commented. "We're supposed to be in this together, and we find ourselves facing the Klan in what's supposed to be our own army."

"My company is 30 percent Black," said a young soldier with a West Indian accent. "I've been at Pendleton seven months and I've seen three Black officers so far."

Others told stories of Blacks caught with marijuana being thrown into the brig—while whites guilty of the same offense are released uncharged.

After the Klan exposures came to light, the brass announced an investigation of the racist group. According to what one Black marine reported, however, the victims of the Klan may be the main target of the investigation by the brass.

"They've been searching people's lockers—looking for 'paraphernalia.' I guess they mean weapons," he said.

"Well, I keep a personal diary. It included my reaction to the racial clash. On the basis of that they started asking me if I was a communist and told me I could be transferred if I was."



Free the 14



Militant/Joseph Ryan

By Mark Schneider

OCEANSIDE, Calif.—"One, two, three. The fourteen must go free," chanted picketers at a rally in Oceanside December 11.

More than 175 people took part in the protest demanding freedom for fourteen Black marines who have been thrown into the brig at Camp Pendleton.

The protest took on a new urgency as marine prosecutors vowed earlier in the week to seek conspiracy-to-commit-murder charges against the fourteen.

Ed L. Beshimentob Mayfield, San Diego director of Operator PUSH (People United to Save Humanity) and a former marine gunnery sergeant, addressed the demonstrators.

"If anyone can find any justice in a situation where these fourteen can't speak to reporters, but anyone else can say whatever they want to the media, I wish they would explain it to me," Mayfield said. "The Pendleton Fourteen are somebody. They are being looked on as nobody and that's got to stop."

Mayfield attended a prayer meeting with the fourteen and Jesse Jackson, national director of PUSH, on December 8.

Jesse Jackson visited the base earlier in the week. "We are concerned that the chief investigator is

white and that the general doesn't know the extent of Klan organization on the base," Jackson said. "We are also concerned that the defense people for the Blacks are all white."

Jackson pledged to seek common action with the national leaders of the NAACP and the Urban League.

In separate news conferences local leaders of PUSH and the Urban League called attention to the cover-up by marine brass of the role of the Klan in provoking the incident.

Both groups are demanding civilian attorneys for the fourteen. And PUSH is starting a defense fund. Clarence Pendleton of the San Diego Urban League has called for a congressional investigation.

Further protests are being planned, including a "Meeting for Spiritual Regeneration" at Camp Pendleton's main gate and a meeting at the Militant Forum.

Groups participating in the December 11 demonstration included PUSH, the Black Federation, Center for Servicemen's Rights, the October League, Changing Times Bookstore, Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, Student Coalition Against Racism, Socialist Workers party, and Young Socialist Alliance. An ad hoc formation called People United to Fight Oppression coordinated the protest.

The case of Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball

The following article is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.

Philip Agee and Mark Hosenball are two American journalists who have lived and worked in Britain for years. They have been ordered out of the country by the Labour government, apparently under pressure from the Central Intelligence Agency. Both Agee and Hosenball have written extensively about the murderous activities of America's international political police.

In an appearance before Parliament

November 18, Home Secretary Merlyn Rees called the two reporters risks to British security, but refused to give any specific charges against them.

Under the 1971 Immigration Act the government can order any person born outside the British Isles deported by simply declaring them a security risk. The victims are given fourteen days to comply with the order. They can appeal to a three-member panel appointed by the same home secretary issuing the deportation order, but the government reserves the right to keep secret its "evidence" on alleged security violations.

Agee has been an especially prominent critic of the CIA. The U.S. Justice Department announced November 18 that it was giving "serious consideration" to the possibility of bringing criminal charges against Agee for his publication of information about the agency's activities in Mexico and Central America.

The Labour government has, of course, denied that the deportation orders were issued under American pressure. But Martin Kettle, an officer of the National Council for Civil Liberties, pointed out that "in the absence of some sort of statement, some sort of clarification, we have to

assume that the American Government has put some sort of pressure on."

Agee, who was also charged with having contacts with unidentified foreign agents, has denied "each and every allegation" against him, and has requested sufficient time to prepare his case against deportation. An Agee-Hosenball Defence Committee has been formed, and the two journalists have won substantial support from trade unionists, members of Parliament, and civil libertarians. Their case deserves the backing of all who seek to preserve and extend freedom of speech.

The real story of the New York crisis: cutbacks for workers, profits for the rich

By Lynn Henderson

NEW YORK—This city went for Carter by a nearly two-to-one margin. Surely, most people believed or hoped, the Democratic candidate would do something to "save the city."

That was less than two months ago. Even before Carter takes office, however, it has rapidly been made clear that devastating cutbacks in social services will continue. They will likely even get worse under the new Democratic administration.

Over the past two years tens of thousands of municipal employees have been laid off. Schools and day-care centers have been closed.

The City University system has been decimated, with free tuition and the open admissions policy eliminated.

Fire protection, sanitation, public transportation, health care, and other vital services have been slashed.

In the name of "fiscal responsibility" \$600 million has been cut from city services. In the next fiscal year still another \$500 million is slated to be cut.

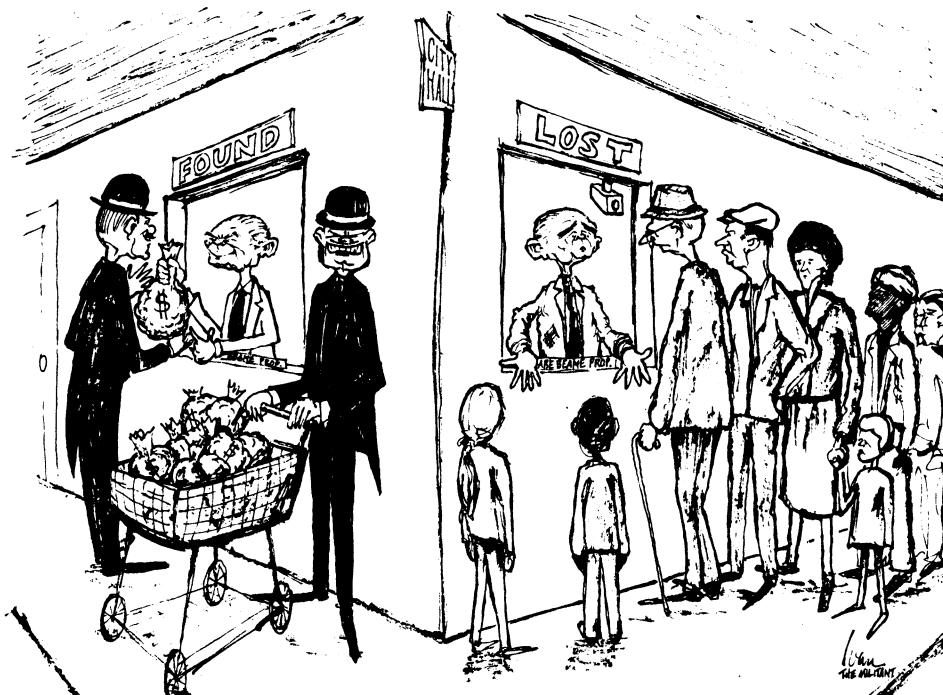
"What remains to be done, in other words," the *New York Times* wrote December 13, "is nearly equal to what has been done since the crisis began a year ago last spring—a chilling thought even to fiscal officials."

City officials said they expected fresh aid from New York State. But early in December Gov. Hugh Carey, another Democrat, declared that the state itself faces a \$1 billion budget deficit next year.

Vowing not to raise taxes—especially not taxes on corporate profits!—Carey said that state laws requiring certain levels of spending for education, welfare, and Medicaid would be rewritten.

What will now be cut, says state Budget Director Peter Goldmark, is "the core of the system, the broad social commitments the state has always managed to pay for, the structure itself."

The figure of \$1 billion will, of course, be juggled and adjusted in



NEWS ITEM: New York City officials have discovered a \$320 million cash surplus. It cannot be used to restore social services, they explain, but will go toward repayment of city bonds.

political deals as the year goes on.

Nevertheless, the *New York Times* noted, "Mr. Carey would much prefer to balance his budget not as he did last year, with temporary palliatives, but with the kind of cuts that will yield repeated savings year after year."

Does it seem curious that none of these state and local Democrats are predicting swift help from their newly elected president or the solidly Democratic Congress?

Perhaps not. After all, Carter's representative lectured the recent U.S. Conference of Mayors, "There'll be no turning the spigots on and trying to solve the problems by throwing money at them."

Top Carter aide Hamilton Jordan later explained, "There's a commitment to help New York City out of its crisis, out of its problems, but this help has to be given in such a way that it

doesn't encourage other cities to come to the federal government or to outspend themselves."

As the plans for new cutbacks roll ahead, other events have exposed—perhaps more starkly than ever before—the real heart of the city's budget crisis.

It is not the alleged greed of public workers or the elderly, the sick, the impoverished, the students, or others dependent on city services.

It is not the callousness of inhumane Republican politicians (alone).

It is not a sudden and mysterious disappearance of society's wealth.

It is the conscious, deliberate shifting of resources away from the needs of working people and toward greater profits for the banks, big real estate interests, and other corporations that own and control the city.

Debt service—interest and principal on city bonds—has soared to \$2.3 billion for the current year alone, the biggest item in the city budget. One tax dollar out of every five now goes to the banks and wealthy individuals who own city bonds.

Shortly after Carter's election, the New York State Court of Appeals ruled that last year's moratorium on repayment of more than \$1 billion in short-term city notes was unconstitutional. The holders of the city debt must be repaid in full, the court ordered.

It had no comment on the constitutionality of ripping up union contracts, freezing wages, closing schools, or cutting vital services. So much for "equality of sacrifice."

The double standard was underlined when city officials "discovered" a \$320 million cash surplus for the current fiscal year. They immediately cautioned that none of the money could be used to ease future service cuts—it could only go toward repayment of the short-term notes.

In fact, a deputy city comptroller said, apparently with a straight face, the cash surplus "didn't mean anything until we suddenly had to pay off the short-term notes."

Then on December 12 a study was released by the Temporary Commission on City Finances, appointed by Mayor Abraham Beame. It called for a whole series of tax reductions for big business, including real estate tax abatements and elimination of sales tax on machinery, equipment, fuel, and utilities.

The central recommendation was to cut the business income tax in half: from 10 percent to 5 percent.

These measures, the commission figures, will cost the city about \$90 million in the first two years. That money would obviously have to come from higher taxes on workers, or more service cuts, or both.

Rob from the poor and give to the rich. That, in a nutshell, is the story of the New York City crisis.

A victory for abortion rights

Quebec drops all charges against Morgentaler

The following article is taken from the December 20 issue of *Labor Challenge*, a revolutionary socialist biweekly published in Toronto. It has been slightly abridged for reasons of space.

By Kate Alderdice

"Elation and jubilation" was Dr. Henry Morgentaler's reaction when the new Parti Quebecois government announced its decision to drop all remaining charges against him. He was to face a fourth charge of performing an illegal abortion on December 13.

When he showed up in court that day, it took less than a minute of legal formalities to end the battle that began in 1970.

Protest actions and a dramatic change in public opinion "played a great role" in winning his freedom, Morgentaler told the U.S. socialist weekly *The Militant*.

"Over the years," he said, "we succeeded in convincing public opinion in Canada that the abortion laws are indeed cruel and dangerous to women; that they are unjust; and this [victory] is probably one of the reflections of

that."

The penal code makes abortion a crime unless a woman can convince a hospital panel that her life and health would be endangered by a full-term pregnancy.

The Quebec government has also asked the federal government to consider changing the abortion law under which Dr. Morgentaler was charged.

After years of court battles, Dr. Henry Morgentaler has become the central figure in the struggle by women for access to safe, legal abortions.

He was first tried for performing an illegal abortion in 1973. The jury brought down a verdict of "not guilty," but the Quebec Court of Appeals set aside the acquittal and substituted its own verdict of "guilty." That decision was upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada.

He began serving an eighteen-month sentence in March 1975. While in prison he suffered a heart attack after being beaten by a guard and thrown into the "hole" overnight.

While he was serving his sentence, he was acquitted by a jury on a second charge of performing an illegal abortion. This time the acquittal was upheld by the appeals court. After ten months in jail he was released. His next ordeal was a retrial on the first charge. This ended once again in a jury acquittal.



DR. HENRY MORGENTALER

The unrelenting persecution of Dr. Morgentaler by the legal system and federal and Quebec governments is one of the biggest political scandals of recent years.

But Henry Morgentaler never gave up the struggle.

The decision to drop the charges is a victory both for Henry Morgentaler and for women who are struggling for the right to control their own bodies.

Dr. Morgentaler's troubles are not over. As part of its vendetta against him, the Quebec government cooked up

Continued on page 26

Message to U.S. women

By Ginny Hildebrand

"I am very happy that the injustices that have been perpetrated up until now against me have ceased," Dr. Morgentaler told the *Militant* in a phone interview December 11. But, he added, he will continue to fight for repeal of Canadian anti-abortion laws.

While being persecuted in his own country, Morgentaler has been deeply concerned with the intensified drive to roll back women's rights to abortion in the United States. He told the *Militant*:

"If I have a message [to women in the United States] it is that you

cannot take your rights for granted. Once you've acquired certain rights and a certain degree of justice, you have to be vigilant to fight to preserve them. There are always reactionary forces who are trying to take them away from you.

"I think the people who have fought so hard in the United States for the right of women to safe, medical abortions should not sit on their laurels and take it for granted that these rights will forever be preserved. [They] should meet the attack of the reactionary forces head on and be forever vigilant."

By Ginny Hildebrand

On December 7 the Supreme Court told employers they don't have to give working women disability pay during pregnancy.

A front-page *New York Times* article called the ruling "a major setback to the women's rights movement." The *Wall Street Journal* heralded it as "a big victory for employers."

Both were right on target.

The case was simple enough. Forty-three women employees of General Electric sued the company demanding that it add paid maternity leaves to its disability plan.

As it stands, GE's plan compensates men for 60 percent of wages lost for such special male surgery as circumcisions, vasectomies, and prostate surgery. Treating pregnancy differently is flagrant sex discrimination, right?

Wrong, said six of the justices.

Justice William Rehnquist stated that it doesn't matter if the ruling strikes "more heavily upon one gender than upon the other." What is involved "is nothing more than an insurance package which covers some risks but excludes others."

The decision strikes down Equal Employment Opportunity Commission guidelines for the implementation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. In 1972, the EEOC had decided that disability plans that exclude maternity compensation violate Title VII's prohibition against employment discrimination based on race or sex.

Profits before rights

The six prevailing justices weren't blind to the evidence of discrimination. They simply focused their eyes on a higher concern—profit.

A favorable ruling for women, argued GE, would cost American companies \$1.6 billion each year.

Seeing this price tag, the justices found justice too dear.

Businessmen are overjoyed. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce hailed the ruling as confirmation of "the right of employers to decide what they will insure their employees against."

The National Association of Manufacturers stated cynically, "We applaud the court's decision because there is only so much disability money available and if a big chunk of it goes to cover pregnant workers, there will be less for the other disabilities."

Pitting male workers against female workers is the stock-in-trade of big business. The truth is, there's plenty of fat in their profits to pay women for maternity leave *and* increase other features of disability plans.

The bosses' attitude is: To hell with the unions, workers' needs, and women's rights! The "right" to squeeze out maximum profits is their only measure of justice. The Supreme Court concurred. It put profits before women's rights.

Where are they now?

The court ruling is also a telling commentary on those who oppose the Equal Rights Amendment under the guise of wanting to uphold "protective laws" for women. Where are the Phyllis Schlaflys and other ERA enemies now that the one "protective law" women *do* need—maternity rights—is sinking?

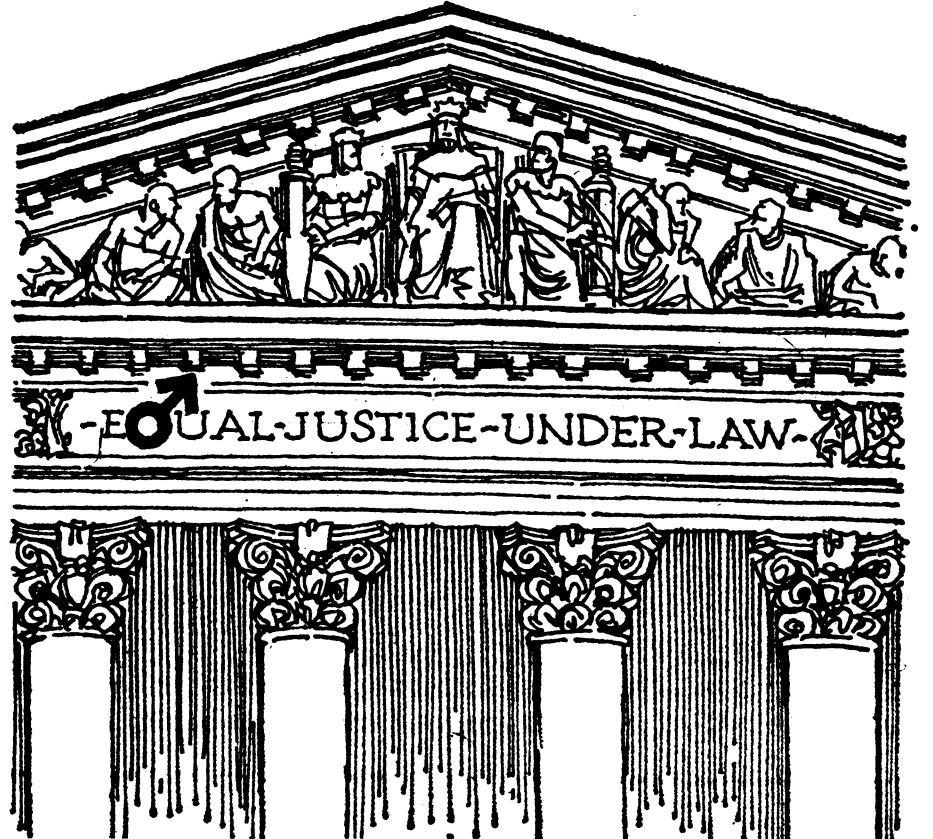
In 1973, disability plans providing pregnancy benefits covered only 16 percent of the work force. Under these programs, pregnant women are generally given less time off with less compensation than workers get for other medical reasons. Now, employers will read the court decision as an open invitation to shaft even these inadequate benefits.

The court ruling has implications beyond denying millions of working women paid maternity leaves. By making pregnancy a legitimate basis for discrimination, the court has reinforced a central pillar of job discrimination against women—the biological differences between the sexes.

Ever since women were hired in the

Pregnancy ruling

Court puts profits before women's rights



News Item—Supreme Court rules employers may refuse pregnancy sick pay

women's right to paid maternity leaves.

Big business, on the other hand, is pushing for the individual worker and her or his family to shoulder more of the burdens of the current economic crisis.

The first step in this plan is to level vicious attacks at the most exploited workers—women, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. Trash affirmative-action programs. Slash day care. Round up "illegal aliens." Drive women out of jobs and back into the kitchen. And hope that those sections of the labor movement not directly affected won't rally in defense of the victims.

Vacuum of protest

The economic crisis is the backdrop for the attacks on women's rights. But the stage has also been set politically.

The Supreme Court decision was made in a vacuum of protest from the women's movement. Meanwhile, right-wing forces—most visibly represented by the anti-abortion and anti-ERA movements—have been monopolizing the political spotlight. Throughout the fall, *their* voices have been the loudest, demanding a rollback of rights won by women.

Influential women's organizations, including the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), focused their attention on getting Jimmy Carter and other Democrats elected. So did the entire labor movement.

The disastrous results of this policy are shown by the court's ruling.

Karen DeCrow, president of NOW, expressed astonishment at the court decision. The *New York Times* quoted her as saying that NOW was "so sure" of a favorable ruling that it had prepared "a two-year strategy" for implementing the decision it expected.

Such misplaced confidence disarms the women's movement of its real power—its growing numbers and ability to mobilize support among broad layers of the population.

Now the question is, How can we respond to the damage done by the Supreme Court? How can feminists reverse the effect of the pregnancy ruling and organize to defend other rights under attack?

The International Union of Electrical Workers, one of the plaintiffs in the suit against GE, says it will lobby for legislation guaranteeing paid maternity leaves in disability plans. Such legislation is needed. But the court's arrogant uprooting of Title VII shows that laws can only be won and implemented if there is a mass movement behind them.

Through a rapid succession of attacks on women's rights, the rulers of this country hope to shatter the feminist movement and send it "reeling" in all directions. Instead, we must close ranks and march against our enemies together.

An effective challenge to the Supreme Court ruling requires a bold national protest campaign by NOW, CLUW, and the trade unions. This could inspire thousands to join in demonstrations and rallies.

This campaign would serve notice on the courts, Congress, and the White House that women are determined to fight every inch of the way to defend maternity rights, legal abortion, and equal opportunities in every sphere.

NYC protest meeting set for January 22

Outraged by attacks on women's rights, nearly seventy women met in New York City December 11 to plan a counteroffensive. They came from many groups, including six NOW chapters and the Committee to End Sterilization Abuse, Brooklyn American Civil Liberties Union, Socialist Workers party, National Abortion Rights Action League, and Riverside Church Women's Center.

Rhonda Copelon from the Center

for Constitutional Rights described the dangers posed by the Hyde amendment, a congressional attempt to ban federally funded Medicaid abortions.

Copelon also called the Supreme Court's December 7 ruling against maternity leaves "a disaster for women. But," she added, "it is also a point for broad mobilization."

This is exactly what the activists decided to do—reach out and orga-

nize in defense of women's rights. They called a protest meeting for January 22—the anniversary of the Supreme Court's ruling legalizing abortion. It will protest attacks on abortion rights; forced sterilization; and the December 7 court ruling. Bronx NOW has initiated a similar meeting in its borough for January 20.

For more information call New York NOW, (212) 674-8950. —G.H.

January actions to demand ERA ratification

By Ginny Hildebrand

With a little more than two years remaining to pass the federal Equal Rights Amendment, feminists and other women's rights supporters are set to push for ratification next year.

INDIANAPOLIS

Support for the January 9 demonstration to demand Indiana ratification is growing, reports Carol McKee. At a December 8 news conference, state NOW coordinator Sue Errington announced that the action will begin at 2:00 p.m. at the State Office Building Plaza in Indianapolis. Errington also detailed plans for an ERA vigil scheduled to begin when the legislative session opens January 5.

NOW's national board has endorsed the demonstration. Board chairperson Eleanor Smeal and past NOW President Wilma Scott Heide will speak at the rally.

Students at Indiana University in Bloomington plan to bring a busload of supporters to the demonstration. They will be joined by buses and cars filled with activists from Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Louisville, and Lexington.

In Kentucky nearly two dozen women's, union, community, and student groups have endorsed the Indianapolis demonstration.

DETROIT

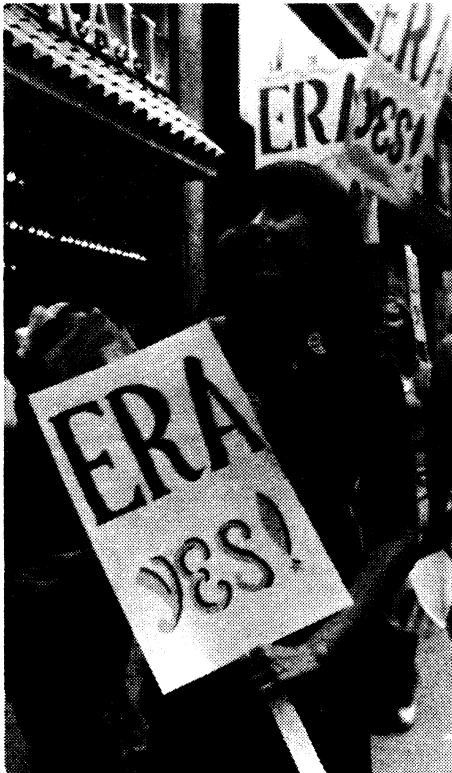
ERA supporters in Michigan confront a proposal in the state legislature to rescind its ratification of the federal ERA. On December 3, fifty people braved snow and icy roads to attend an ERA panel discussion at Wayne

State University in Detroit. Barbara-Rose Collins, a Black state legislator, was the keynote speaker at the event, which was sponsored by the Committee to Defend the ERA.

Fifteen people signed up to go to Indianapolis January 9 on a bus being organized by Detroit NOW.

RICHMOND

In Virginia, where legislators have kept the ERA bottled up in committee, an Open Air Speak-Out is planned for January 15 in Richmond's Monroe



Militant/Martha Harris

Park. Gloria Steinem will be a featured speaker.

On December 1 the Virginia Commonwealth University for the ERA organized an ERA forum. Panelists included Jean Hellmuth, ERA Task Force coordinator for Richmond NOW; Beth Alley, chairperson of the Richmond ERA Ratification Council and the ERA Week Coalition; and Toba Singer, chairperson of the Program Committee for the January 15 action.

Several speakers discussed the benefits the ERA could offer women. Singer focused her talk on how to win ratification in Virginia. Cautioning the audience to be wary of legislators who say they are "turned off" by demonstrations, Singer said, "They are trying to demoralize us, tell us that we are wasting our time, that the majority is against us. On January 15, we will show them that they have been voting wrong—that we have the majority."

After the panel, more than twenty students signed up to organize workshops and other activities during "ERA Week," January 8-15.

HOUSTON

Houston ERA supporters have called a January 14 rally to protest attempts to rescind the ERA ratification in Texas. Sponsors include several NOW chapters, the Coalition of Labor Union Women in Houston, the Association of Women in Science, Federally Employed Women, and the Women's Political Caucus.

The day before the rally, a women's news conference entitled the "State of the City" will be held to focus attention on demands for equal pay for equal

work, child care, abortion rights, and affirmative-action programs.

ATLANTA

The 1977 ERA ratification drive in Georgia begins January 7 with an evening rally at Georgia State University. The following day activists at the campus will participate in an educational and planning conference on the fight for the ERA. The events are being sponsored by the GSU's Women's Coalition, four area NOW chapters, Georgians for the ERA, and others.

SAN ANTONIO

Chicano activists are voicing support for the ERA in San Antonio. The November *Caracol*, a local Chicano publication, featured an article by Mia Garcia-Camarillo in which she explained:

"I was not very interested in this issue until recently. In the Movimiento there is the feeling that when we move, we all do it together. When we ask for fair treatment for Chicanas, we're going to be asking it for Chicanos."

"Time and energy put into a cause like ERA is even said to detract from other causes which require more urgent attention. I think there's something in that attitude, but now I know a little about ERA I'm in favor of it."

"Why? Because it's going to crucially affect thousands of Chicana household heads. It's more than an issue of dignity and human rights—for many women it's a survival issue, the difference between making enough money to support your children and not making it."

'Democrats and Republicans are hypocritical'

By Debby Tarnopol

LOUISVILLE—Ruth Shumate became a provisional member of the Socialist Workers party here at the end of October. She first found out about the SWP last March when she went to

that time. She'd been doing this kind of work since 1972 when she campaigned for Richard Nixon. By last spring, she did her work out of habit, not conviction. When it finally got to be too much, Shumate announced to her co-workers, "I'm going to work for the socialist candidate."

Shumate told how some of her personal experiences had jolted her political outlook and headed her in the direction of the SWP.

She has been looking for permanent work since she finished high school a year-and-a-half ago. Her education was a waste when it came to getting a job, she said. Sex discrimination made job hunting even harder.

At one point she applied to be a fire fighter. Her parents demanded to know what she was trying to prove. "I'm just trying to get a job!" she told them.

Six months as a surveyor for a mental health facility opened Shumate's eyes to how the system doesn't work for most people. She described to



RUTH SHUMATE

me the hours she spent in the homes of poor Black and white families learning about severe health problems that no one was going to help them with.

One of her co-workers was a supporter of the Communist party. Their political discussion stirred Shumate to consider joining the CP. However, when she and this friend went to the ERA demonstration, she found out there was another group to consider—the SWP.

She was surprised when Edgar Wallace, state NAACP president, pointed out in his rally speech that the Communist party doesn't support the ERA. Her co-worker was shocked too.

Shumate's three-month provisional membership is giving her the chance to become more familiar with the SWP. She says she intends to become a full member. "I believe in the party's views," she told me. "It's something I can really relate to. The Democrats and Republicans, they're hypocritical."

Jersey high court okays job bias

By Tom Bias

NEWARK—The New Jersey Supreme Court has dealt a blow to equal employment rights for Black workers. In a November 30 ruling, the court struck down a quota system imposed on Montclair, New Jersey, for the hiring of fire fighters and police.

In that 1974 order, the state's division of civil rights required Montclair to hire one Black firefighter for every white firefighter until the department had fifteen Black members. Today, almost two-and-a-half years after the order, only four of Montclair's eighty-six fire fighters are Black.

Montclair has a large Black minority—about 30 percent of the population. In the past it has had to fight for desegregation in schools, housing, and other areas. That fewer than 5 percent of the city's fire fighters are Black can only be attributed to race discrimination and can only be corrected by affirmative action.

Nonetheless, six of the seven su-

preme court justices concurred that Montclair should not be required to hire fifteen Black fire fighters. In the majority opinion, Justice Sidney Schreiber wrote that the state law against hiring discrimination was never meant to correct "the effects of past discrimination in favor of individuals against whom no discrimination has been practiced."

This reactionary ruling can now be cited throughout New Jersey to deny equal employment opportunities to minorities and women in both public and private jobs.

Reacting to the decision, Langdon Dames, executive director of the Essex County Urban League, pointed out, "Who is to judge if an institution or any employer is nondiscriminatory? What means of judgment do you use? It makes the whole thing subjective. . . . Progress can best be made on a quantifiable basis such as numbers."

Dames was joined in his criticism of the ruling by Irene Smith of the

NAACP, Agapito Diaz of the New Jersey Puerto Rican Congress, and Larry Stewart, 1976 congressional candidate of the Socialist Workers party. Stewart pointed to the inequalities Blacks face in schools, in job training programs, and in the job market.

"To ignore these facts is to accept discrimination as natural and proper," he said. "This is exactly what the supreme court did." Stewart cited his and his Black co-workers' suit against their employer—Nu-Car Carriers, a New Jersey-based trucking firm—for discrimination against Blacks in hiring and promotion.

School desegregation plans have been ordered in a number of New Jersey communities. The state supreme court decision will only embolden racist opponents of these plans, who are determined to preserve the "ethnic purity" of their North Jersey communities.

Why ACLU opposes Gilmore's execution

By Aryeh Neier

[The following article, first published in the November 17 New York Times, explains why the American Civil Liberties Union intervened in court to stop the execution of Gary Mark Gilmore.]

[Aryeh Neier is executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union. His article is reprinted by permission of the ACLU.]

"I do not wish to have other people's purposes to be forced on me," says Gary Mark Gilmore. "Where the execution becomes an actual fact and the condemned man is willing to accept it with grace and dignity, then the people of Utah are afraid and do not have the courage of their convictions."

Should Mr. Gilmore's wishes be respected? Should the American Civil Liberties Union and other opponents of capital punishment stay out of the case as he has insisted? I don't think so. We have intervened. This is why.

Capital punishment is barbarous. Whether or not Mr. Gilmore says he wants to die, the state enacted the death penalty, the state sentenced him to death, and the state would organize the firing squad and

An editorial on this subject appears on page 10.

carry out the execution. Our quarrel is with the state, not with Gary Mark Gilmore.

Press reports on Mr. Gilmore suggest that he may have killed a motel manager in order to bring the death penalty on himself. This seems to have been true of many murderers in the days when capital punishment was routine. Without pretending to know what motivates Mr. Gilmore, but assuming he is rational, his demand to get on with the execution is understandable. The sentence of death hangs over his head. After a nine-year hiatus while the constitutionality of the death penalty was

tested in the courts, the United States Supreme Court now says that states may resume killing people.

It is reasonable for Mr. Gilmore to believe that his eventual execution is very likely. "To prolong this execution," as Mr. Gilmore says, puts him "through the stress of cruel, and unusual and inhuman treatment . . . This delay also prolongs the agony of waiting for my family and friends." If there is anything worse than the death penalty, it may be sitting in prison knowing they are going to come for you. Now wonder Mr. Gilmore attempted to take his own life yesterday.

Suppose the state offered prisoners who have committed lesser crimes than Mr. Gilmore the alternative of lesser physical punishments. Burglars and robbers might choose to be blinded or to have their hands or feet cut off. As in the case of executing Mr. Gilmore, maiming such criminals would prevent them from repeat-



NEIER: "We reject the choice the state is forcing on Mr. Gilmore."

ing their crimes. This suggestion is not so farfetched.

In the hope of currying favor with parole boards and getting out early, prisoners routinely volunteer to serve as guinea pigs in dangerous drug experiments, and many suffer physical damage.

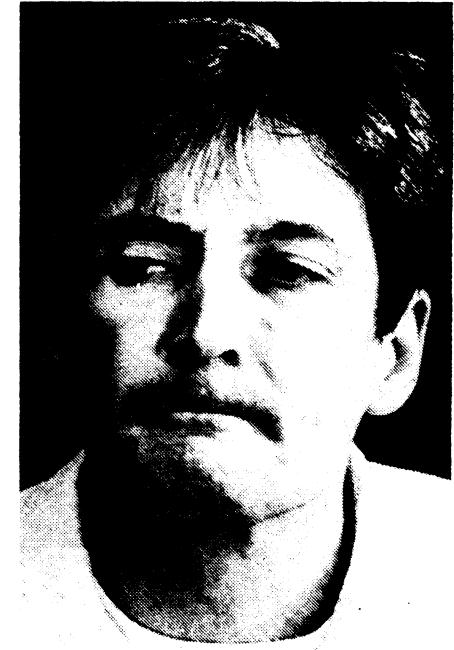
Last year, two convicted sex offenders in San Diego got a court's consent allowing them to be castrated rather than stay in prison indefinitely. The operations never took place, but only because the urologist who was to perform the castrations backed out when he learned that his malpractice insurance might not cover him in the event of a lawsuit.

In a Michigan case in 1973, a man who had spent 17 years in confinement consented to psychosurgery as a way of obtaining release. The operation was blocked in court by a legal-services lawyer who filed a taxpayer suit. While that case was pending, the Michigan law under which the volunteer for psychosurgery had been confined was invalidated, and he was released without undergoing the operation.

I hope the public will recoil with horror from the prospect of official state blindings, maimings, castrations, psychosurgery—and executions. The state, acting for us, ought not engage in such cruelty. It becomes all the more horrible if carried out with the studied formality of legal process.

We may believe Mr. Gilmore has made a rational decision that immediate death in front of a firing squad is preferable to life in prison under a sentence of death. If so, we should abolish capital punishment so as not to leave death sentences hanging over people's heads. We should do something to mitigate the pain, misery and boredom of prison existence. We should make sure that prison sentences are no longer than necessary to punish people for the crimes they commit and to protect other people.

Since almost all violent crime is committed by people while they are young,



GILMORE: Says delaying his execution is 'cruel, unusual, and inhuman.'

sentences a lot shorter than life in prison will protect others from further crimes by people such as Gary Mark Gilmore.

I find it very difficult to disregard Mr. Gilmore's wishes. It's his life. He has been told by the state of Utah he can submit to a firing squad right now or he can appeal his case while he stays in prison with the death sentence still hanging over him. The state should never have forced him to make that choice. To defer to the choice Mr. Gilmore has made is to acknowledge the right of the state to engage in savagery and to coerce Mr. Gilmore into becoming an accomplice in a legal homicide.

Because we reject the choice the state is forcing on Mr. Gilmore, the A.C.L.U. is butting in. A.C.L.U. attorneys are asking the courts to prevent Utah from executing Mr. Gilmore.

Protests in four cities hit legalized murder

Miami

By Stuart Rogers

MIAMI—On December 4, nearly 100 people attended an indoor speak-out against capital punishment followed by a march along one of Miami's busiest avenues.

Speakers at the rally were Shirley Fry of the Florida Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Wilbert Lee, who spent twelve years in prison—close to nine of them on death row—for two murders he did not commit; Reverend Rudolph of the Mt. Zion Baptist Church; Fanny Tuey, Ft. Myers Delbert Tibbs Defense Committee; Jack Lieberman, Socialist Workers party; and Lou Beller, a civil liberties lawyer who is an attorney for Delbert Tibbs.

Wilbert Lee, who was frequently interrupted by applause, told the audience, "If it can happen to me, it can happen to you. The death penalty is designed for poor people."

Special attention was focused on the frame-up of Delbert Tibbs, a Black Chicago man convicted of murder and rape in the Ft. Myers area. Tibbs was recently granted a new trial when it was discovered that the state's key witness had given fraudulent testimony. His trial is scheduled to begin December 14 in Ft. Myers.

The demonstration, sponsored by Dade Citizens Against the Death Penalty, was covered by two of Miami's three television stations.

Tallahassee

By Jerry Swanson

TALLAHASSEE, Fla.—Freddie Pitts, a former Florida death row prisoner, spoke to more than 300 people here December 3.

Pitts and codefendant Wilbert Lee, both Black, were sentenced to death in 1963 for two murders they did not commit. The U.S. Supreme Court stayed their execution. In 1966 another man confessed he had done the murders. But Pitts and Lee remained imprisoned until 1975, when public protests forced Florida's governor to pardon the two innocent men.

Pitts spoke to a noontime meeting of 150 Florida State University law students. He blasted the dual standard of justice in Florida. "A man or woman with five cents should have the same legal representation as one with five million cents," Pitts said. But "persons without \$56,000 to buy a lawyer will get screwed."

That evening Pitts spoke to 160 people at Florida A&M University. Pitts urged people to organize a mass protest movement against the death penalty. Nobody should trust politicians to change the laws without pressure, he said.

The program at Florida A&M had originally been scheduled as a debate between Pitts and Florida Attorney General Robert Shevin. But Shevin refused to debate.

The talks were sponsored by the Tallahassee Citizens Against the Death Penalty, the Florida A&M University Student Government, and the Tallahassee Coop Books and Records.

Newark

By Betsy Cummings

NEWARK—One hundred people rallied against the death penalty here December 9. The rally, sponsored by the Student Coalition Against Racism, was held at Essex County College. More than half of the participants were Black or Puerto Rican.

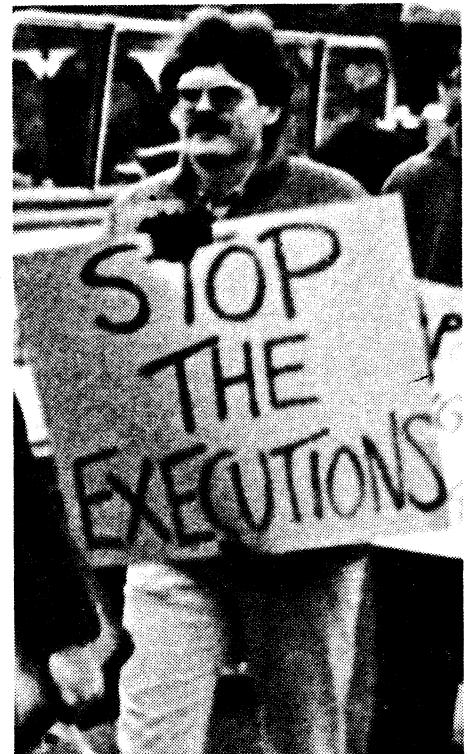
The New Jersey Senate was scheduled to take up a bill reconstituting capital punishment December 13. The state assembly has already approved death penalty legislation.

John Artis, codefendant with Rubin "Hurricane" Carter in a retrial on frame-up charges, was a featured speaker.

Artis pointed out that if the death penalty had been in existence during his first trial in 1967, he and Carter might not be alive today to prove their innocence.

Artis explained that he learned while in prison that "if you are a Black, Puerto Rican, or Chicano inmate, the prison authorities don't seek to punish you for the crime, they seek to punish you . . . period."

"The death penalty is 'cruel and



Militant/Bill Lerman

San Jose

By Tim Cullinane

SAN JOSE—Twenty-seven people attended "A Speak-out Against the Death Penalty" held at San Jose State University December 8.

Speakers included Katie Bishop of the Santa Clara Valley chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, Sidney Welsh of the American Indian Movement, and Sharon Cabaniss of the Socialist Workers party.

Welsh spoke about the frame-up of two AIM activists in Ventura, California. Paul Durant Skyhorse and Richard Billings Mohawk are accused of murder in a frame-up concocted with the help of FBI agents provocateurs who infiltrated AIM.

Bishop explained that the December 7 decision by the California Supreme Court had found California's death penalty laws unconstitutional. She warned, however, that there will be attempts to draft a new law similar to those upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court last July. So the death penalty will continue to be an issue in California.

Pasadena socialists run for school boards

By Jan Taylor

PASADENA, Calif.—The Socialist Workers party announced here December 8 that it has launched election campaigns for the Pasadena School Board and Pasadena City College Board of Trustees.

Willie Petty and Tim Mallory are running for school board positions. Joanne Tortorici is running for board of trustees. The election will be March 8.

Socialists have begun petitioning to secure Mallory and Petty places on the ballot. Each needs 100 signatures. There is no petitioning requirement for ballot status in the trustees race.

Both Mallory and Petty have run for office before as SWP candidates. Petty ran for Los Angeles School Board in 1975. Mallory was a candidate for Pasadena School Board that same year.

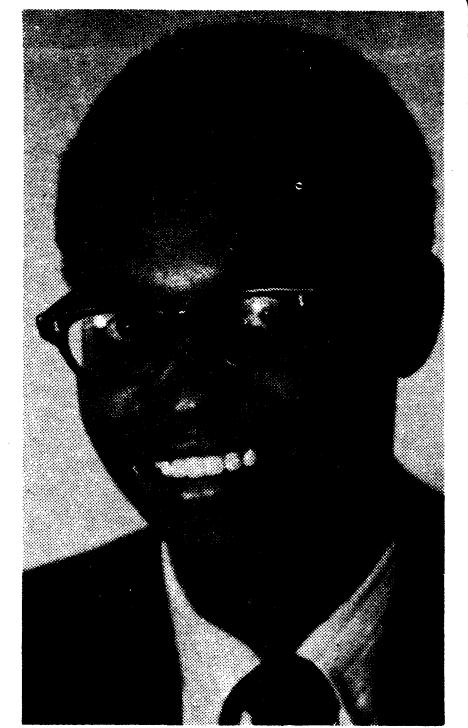
As in the 1975 race, the socialists say the main issue in the school board election in Pasadena is school desegregation.

The Pasadena School Board has been fighting court-ordered desegregation for years, paying lawyers with funds that should be used to enforce the court order.

Tortorici is chairperson of the Pasadena City College Young Socialist Alliance. Since last spring, the YSA there has been embroiled in a free speech fight with the board of trustees.

The board's rules prohibit the selling of any literature on campus. Socialists have been harassed while selling the *Militant*, *Young Socialist*, and Pathfinder books and pamphlets. They have been forced to confine their selling to sidewalks adjacent to the campus.

Tortorici says the YSA chapter and the Southern California affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union have agreed to challenge the undemocratic literature ban in court. The right of PCC students to buy and sell literature on campus will be one of the main issues in Tortorici's campaign.



WILLIE PETTY

Immigration counselors under fire

Manzo defendants appeal for nat'l support

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—Tucson, Arizona, community workers facing prison for counseling "illegal aliens" have made an appeal for public support here.

The government has indicted on felony charges three employees of the Manzo Area Council and a nun who works with them. They are Margo Cowan, director of the agency, Catalina Montaño, Marguerita Jauregui Ramírez, and Sister Ann Gabriel Marcaicq.

The trial had been scheduled to begin December 15, but at the request of the defendants it has been postponed until March.

Margo Cowan and Catalina Montaño spoke at a December 7 news conference here along with Raul Grijalva, an independent Chicano member of the Tucson school board who is associated with the Manzo council.

Also at the conference were several Los Angeles supporters, including Rosario Muñoz, a longtime activist in the Chicano community.

Partially funded by the federal government, the Manzo agency provides a variety of services to the poor in Tucson's west side barrio. One important and independently funded service has been counseling undocumented immigrants who have the possibility of legalizing their status here on the basis of having a child, spouse, or other relative who is a citizen or permanent resident.

Such counseling is provided by countless social service agencies, attorneys, and licensed immigration counselors throughout the country. If the Manzo workers are successfully prosecuted, it would jeopardize all immigration counseling.

Gov't seeks precedent

This key fact was emphasized at the news conference. Such a precedent is precisely the aim of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, which sparked the prosecution, and of the U.S. attorney's office, which is carrying it through.

Catalina Montaño told the news conference that setting a precedent is the declared intention of Assistant U.S. Attorney William Vogel, who is prosecuting the four.

"He's very up front about it," Montaño said.

Successful prosecution would threaten more than immigration counseling, Margo Cowan added. Public health nurses, county hospitals, and schools that in any way relate to undocumented people would also be open to victimization.



Margo Cowan (right) and Catalina Montaño at Los Angeles news conference. They are two of four Tucson social workers charged with felonies for counseling undocumented workers.

The indictment is sweeping. The twenty-five counts include "aiding and abetting" aliens to elude detection, "transporting" them, and knowingly aiding "felons," that is, people here "illegally."

Cowan, indicted on all twenty-five charges, faces a maximum of seventy-seven years in prison and a \$98,500 fine.

Sister Ann Gabriel, indicted on only three counts, faces ten years and a \$15,000 fine.

The charges are trumped up from beginning to end.

The charge of "transporting" undocumented people is so crude that it would be unbelievable—if it weren't a matter of record, vigorously defended by the prosecutor.

What is the "transporting" charge based on?

A young, undocumented Mexican woman in Tucson planned to marry a U.S. citizen. Because she was just under the state's minimum age requirement of sixteen, she required a judge's permission to marry.

Was judge guilty?

A Manzo worker drove her to the juvenile court for the appointment with the judge.

That lift downtown is the basis for the felony charge of "transporting an illegal alien!"

"If anybody transports an illegal alien—I don't care if it's only five feet—if it's other than to take them to immigration officials, then it's in furtherance of their illegal entry and in

violation of the law," says prosecutor Vogel.

His definition of "transporting"?

With scarcely concealed racist overtones, he responds, "Walking next to. Carrying on the back. Riding on a burro with."

The entire prosecution is just as gross.

The indictments stemmed from a chain of events that began last March. Then, with the jobless rate rising, the Border Patrol made a sweep of Tucson businesses, rounding up undocumented workers for deportation.

Three of those picked up, officials said, carried papers indicating they were Manzo clients.

Border patrol raid

The Border Patrol obtained a search warrant and, on April 9, swooped down on the Manzo office.

They seized some 800 client files. Only a small fraction of these were related to undocumented workers. The others were records of people receiving drug or alcohol counseling or other agency services.

The warrant was based on allegations that Manzo was helping undocumented people to get food stamps or welfare illegally.

After authorities examined the seized records, they dropped that charge. The agency staff branded the seizure of the 800 files a "fishing expedition."

But it was not an idle expedition. Using names in the files, Border Patrol cops made early morning raids on the

homes of undocumented people. An estimated 150 were deported as a result.

Cops harassed legal residents and citizens as well. Police visited people and grilled them about suspected "illegals," often someone they didn't even know.

One of those so visited was a senior citizen whose only connection with Manzo was a ceramics class she had attended.

Represented by the American Civil Liberties Union, the Manzo Area Council got a court order directing the cops to return all records not "evidence of ongoing criminal action."

Some 300 four-year-old social service records were returned. Federal officials said they were holding 300 records assertedly containing evidence of crime. The rest are unaccounted for or "lost."

This violation of the confidentiality of the records is a damaging thing in a number of respects, the participants in the news conference here pointed out.

Victimizes poor

For one thing, Margo Cowan said, it will make people other than undocumented workers reluctant to use the services of agencies like Manzo. It is, she said, an attack on the poor.

"If our clients had some money and could have gone to a lawyer," she observed, "they would have enjoyed a confidential relationship."

"But because they're poor and have to come to a neighborhood counseling service, they don't have that protection."

Raul Grijalva said the defense will seek support across the country from similar community agencies, from organizations involved with the immigration issue, and from all those concerned with the plight of undocumented workers and civil liberties.

He criticized the present stepped-up drive by the Immigration and Naturalization Service against undocumented workers and said that the Manzo prosecution stemmed directly from this.

"Because of the economic crisis," Grijalva said, "we are going through the scapegoating cycle against the undocumented that we have periodically in this country. This is precisely the kind of thing we're focusing on in fighting this case."

Those who want more information or want to help with the defense should contact:

Margo Cowan, El Concilio Manzo, 1025 North Grande Avenue, Tucson, Arizona 85705. Telephone: (602) 623-5739.

How media covered SWP campaign

By Steve Wattenmaker

"We were covered regularly and with a seriousness that I think is new to socialist presidential campaigns in this country."

Jean Savage, press secretary for the Socialist Workers 1976 campaign, smiled as she recalled the contrast with earlier Socialist Workers party election efforts. "This time," she said, "we didn't get any headlines like 'Beyond the Fringe' or 'Doomed to Lose.'"

Although SWP candidates Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid received only a fraction of the coverage lavished on Ford and Carter, Savage pointed out that times are changing.

"Even before we officially launched the campaign, Bill Lanouette, a reporter for the *National Observer*, contacted us. He had been assigned to do a major story on the SWP, he said, because the *Observer* knew the economic crisis would spur a growth of the socialist movement in the United States. And in their opinion, the SWP was the socialist group to watch."

Impressive statistics

Statistics on SWP media coverage are impressive. The campaign received 6,034 articles from a national clipping service that follows 1,800 daily papers. About 500 of the articles focused on the activities of local SWP candidates, the others on Camejo and Reid.

The Camejo-Reid campaign was also mentioned in several thousand newspaper reports on the party's lawsuit against the FBI and CIA.

Many articles that appeared in local newspapers originated as wire stories sent out nationally by Associated Press and United Press International. AP and UPI released 129 separate stories from New York, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia. Other AP and UPI bureaus sent out another 168.

Over the course of the campaign, the *Los Angeles Times* wrote articles about or mentioned the SWP presidential ticket fourteen times; the *Milwaukee Journal*, ten times; the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, fifteen times; and the *Houston Chronicle*, thirteen times.

The *New York Times* printed twenty-six articles, including two full-column interviews with Camejo.

Camejo and Reid were seen for a total of two hours and fifty minutes on national television. In addition, they received hours of local TV and radio time during their tours.

Nationally prominent newspapers wrote major feature articles on Camejo and Reid during the first few months of the campaign—a full year before the primaries were held.

Newsday sent out over their wire

service a background article headlined, "Spelling Socialist With Optimism."

The *National Observer* printed Lanouette's piece on the SWP in January 1975. The *Observer* titled it, "Another Presidential Hopeful: Peter Camejo—He's a Socialist Candidate, and He Says Capitalism Is What's Wrong With America."

The *Christian Science Monitor* headlined its first article, "Socialist running 'on the issues.'"

Those three articles alone, said Jean Savage, reached twenty-four million people.

The publicity the SWP received through its \$40 million lawsuit against the FBI and CIA helped open some doors, Savage said. But she was quick to add, "Reporters were equally interested in what our candidates were like and what kind of program we were running on."

In March 1975 Camejo appeared on NBC's "Today" program along with Syd Stapleton of the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is coordinating publicity for the lawsuit. Camejo was able to explain to a nationwide television audience what the FBI found so threatening in the SWP's platform, "A Bill of Rights for Working People."

Many articles on the campaign itemized the socialist program point by point.

The Sacramento, California, *Observer* wrote, "The SWP's platform is a 'Bill of Rights for Working People,' that guarantees the right to a job, adequate income, secure retirement, free education and medical care, and the right to control their own affairs and decide economic and political policy."

"Another striking change," Savage noted, "was the increased attention Black media paid to the campaign. At least fifteen of the most important Black community newspapers in the country printed our press releases on almost a weekly basis and covered Camejo and Reid when they toured a particular city."

Newspapers like the *Baltimore Afro-American*, the *Carolina Times*, the *Chicago Defender*, and the *Milwaukee Courier* ran stories headed "Socialist candidates back busing," "Camejo and Reid demand immediate end to U.S. intervention in Angola," "Denounce KKK," "Calls For Free Child Care Centers," and "1st black woman VEEP candidate in Newark."

According to Savage, the three national Black radio networks that feed news to hundreds of stations also closely followed the SWP campaign.

"When Camejo or Reid had a statement or a comment on the news, all three Black networks would tape it and send it out. In fact, one of the three networks, Black Audio, requested Willie Mae Reid's tour schedule so they could call her up on the road whenever they wanted to tape a statement."

Savage thinks that future SWP campaigns can expand the party's contact with Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican media.

"As an indication of what's possible, *Caracol*, a respected Chicano magazine in San Antonio, printed an extensive interview with Camejo and then—for good measure—editorially endorsed his campaign."

Time on TV

Camejo reached another huge Black audience by appearing on the national Public Broadcasting Service television program "Black Perspective on the News." He was questioned by a panel of Black journalists for thirty minutes on issues ranging from unemployment and government spying to school desegregation and women's rights.

"National television time represented another breakthrough," said Savage. "In addition to the 'Black Perspective' program, Camejo was featured two other times on national PBS television—once for ten minutes and later in the campaign for a full half hour."

In 1972, ABC-TV offered SWP candidate Linda Jenness time on "Issues and Answers" only after being successfully challenged under the government's equal-time provisions.

Camejo and several other opposition candidates appeared on NBC-TV's "Meet the Press," although the network was under no legal obligation to provide equal time.

However, the socialist candidates still had to fight for television coverage. It took a battle to get Peter Camejo on NBC's popular late-night "Tomorrow" show for thirty minutes.

"Peter's appearance on the 'Tomorrow' show demonstrated the value of television coverage," Savage said.

"Even though the program was broadcast in most parts of the country at one-thirty in the morning, the campaign received 3,705 requests for more information and \$3,589 from people who watched the show."

Radio, Savage explained, was much more accessible to the SWP campaign. "We found we could easily get interviews for local and national candidates, as well as have stations tape short statements from us."

'Great Debates'

Some of the most widespread—and dramatic—coverage of Camejo and Reid came in the last two months of the campaign.

Along with other opposition presidential candidates, Camejo was barred from participating in the so-called Great Debates.

"New Legal Threat to the Debates," read a front-page banner headline in the *New York Post*, when Camejo initiated a lawsuit to be included in the Ford-Carter exchange.

"Debate pickets OKed," announced a front-page headline in the *Philadelphia Daily News*. The *News* reported successful legal efforts by the SWP, National Organization for Women, and other groups to obtain a permit to picket the first presidential debate.

UPI and AP sent out fifty-six national wire stories mentioning the SWP in connection with the presidential debates—stories picked up in hundreds of newspapers.

Another wire service, the Newspaper Enterprise Association, solicited an opinion column written by Camejo. Headed "Debates Violate Public Right To Know," the thousand-word article was run in thirty-eight newspapers.

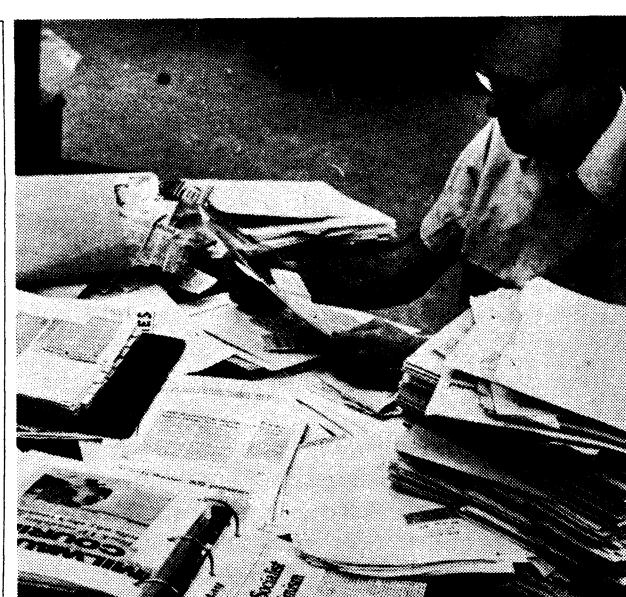
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"What opened the media's eyes was the cumulative impact of the SWP's activities over the past several years," said Savage, summing up. "Our election campaigns. Our suit against the FBI and CIA. Our participation in fighting for things like the Equal Rights Amendment and school desegregation.

"The other side of the coin," she added, "is that we have become more aggressive and sophisticated in seeking media coverage. For example, the SWP has now set up a national publicity department to take advantage of the many media opportunities that are open to us."

"At the heart of the matter," she said, after pausing a moment, "is that many more people—including the media—are interested in the SWP."

"And that didn't end on election day. Socialist Workers party members testified against the death penalty at Gary Gilmore's November 30 hearing before the Utah Board of Pardons. That was newsworthy enough to be included on both NBC and CBS national evening news and in the wire story sent out by Associated Press."



Militant/Susan Ellis
Campaign staffer Sam Randell sorts through the thousands of newspaper articles about Camejo and Reid accumulated by the national campaign office.

The real issue

Brushing aside pleas from Gary Gilmore's mother, his former lawyers, and opponents of capital punishment, the state of Utah has decreed that he be shot at sunrise Monday, January 17. This ruling followed by two days the U.S. Supreme Court's arrogant refusal—by a vote of five to four—to even consider Gilmore's case.

These monstrous decisions must be condemned by all supporters of human rights. A mass outcry is needed to stop the execution.

The capitalist news media have done everything in their power to cloud the real issue in the Gilmore case: that it will be the first execution in this country in almost a decade.

The death penalty caps a legal system that is class- and race-biased—from the cops to the courts. The unemployment, poverty, and oppression spawned by capitalism are the real source of crime.

And capitalism's prisons and "reformatories" are factories of human degradation. That Gary Gilmore should rather die than live out the rest of his years in these hellholes is not amazing.

Gilmore has already spent most of his adult life in prison. He has been shaped, brutalized, and dehumanized by them.

Now—confronted with the end product of their own brutality and oppression—America's rulers cry, "Kill him!"

We must answer, *No!* Killing Gilmore will not lessen the violence of this society. It will only open the way to a bloodbath whose primary victims will be the poor, mostly Blacks and other minorities.

Just look at the victims of racist frame-ups who have had the threat of the death penalty held over them. Gary Tyler. Delbert Tibbs. The Scottsboro Boys. Joanne Little.

Just remember the innocent targets of class injustice who actually *were* executed. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Joe Hill. Nicola Sacco. Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

We agree with Aryeh Neier of the American Civil Liberties Union (see page 7). The death penalty is "barberous." It is "savagery." It is "legal homicide."

We urge our readers to organize emergency protests to demand:

No executions!
Stop the killing of Gary Gilmore!
Abolish the death penalty!

Mideast peace?

Diplomats are now saying that the time is ripe for new Middle East negotiations. No one can predict whether the current talk will actually result in some kind of settlement.

But working people can be sure that these maneuvers have nothing to do with meeting the just aspirations of the Palestinians to return to their homeland, now occupied by Israel.

In fact, it is the dramatic weakening of the Palestinian struggle during the civil war in Lebanon that set the stage for the current talk of negotiation.

This setback was imposed on the Palestinians by Syria's invasion of Lebanon, an invasion tacitly supported by the other Arab regimes.

In exchange for their betrayal of the Palestinians, the Arab governments hope that Israel will withdraw from land it now occupies in Egypt, Syria, and Jordan. These regimes are sweetening this proposed deal by offering Israel diplomatic recognition. They are also putting immense pressure on the beleaguered Palestinians to give up their goal of a democratic, secular Palestine and accept instead the existence of the Zionist state that oppresses them.

The would-be Arab power brokers are promising the Palestinians that if they yield to this pressure, a "mini-state" could be established for them on some part of the territory today occupied by Israel.

But this hope that peace with Israel can come in exchange for recognizing the Zionist state is a pipe dream. Again and again, Israel has bared its expansionist and warlike character, as the Zionists' current war moves on the Lebanese border show.

It is highly unlikely the Zionists will concede to Arab demands for a "mini-state." But even if they did, their aim would only be to create a militarily and economically weak entity designed to hold back the just struggle of the Palestinian masses for genuine self-determination.

Any peace settlement concocted under these circumstances can only be a fragile nest sitting on top of two explosive forces: the intransigence of the Israeli colonial settler state and the drive of the Palestinians to regain their homeland.

A real democracy

I have been following the Socialist Workers party since I moved to Minneapolis early this summer and bought a sample *Militant* subscription from a party worker on the street.

I am delighted with most "planks" in your program. You maintain, unlike the Democrats or Republicans, that the people in a country have the right to decide where their natural resources are to be utilized, not an elitist, capitalist few. This truly democratic attitude has always triumphed in the case where a decayed society ends and a great society begins.

When in the not-too-distant future our country goes through this metamorphosis, only a democracy can bring about our new great society. I only hope that the change is an evolution rather than a revolution.

David Morris

Minneapolis, Minnesota

More 'open' paper

This letter concerns the manner in which articles are often written for the *Militant*. Sometimes articles leave out all facts or some of those facts necessary to give readers the chance to decide for themselves if what the author is saying is actually so. The *Militant* reader is therefore molded and possibly sold on what may or may not be truths.

Let's have a totally open paper.

M.S.

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Men Against Patriarchy

I've been receiving the *Militant* for several weeks now and want you to know that I've enjoyed it. Your analysis of class oppression is quite good. I especially enjoyed and benefited from reading the November 1976 *International Socialist Review* article on "The Role of Women's Liberation in the Socialist Revolution" by Mary-Alice Waters.

I'm part of a collective of the Movement for a New Society—Men Against Patriarchy. Through our study, sharing, and working with men and women, we've concluded that sexism is one of the most entrenched oppressions in this capitalist society. The Men Against Patriarchy collective is planning to develop a campaign centered around the complementary struggles of women's and men's liberation.

We believe that an end to capitalism is necessary for the equality of all workers, but also that a strong feminist movement is needed to move the socialist revolution to ending all forms of oppression, as well as strong gay and Black and other Third World movements.

A reader
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Harrington's lesser-evilism

It was an unexpected pleasure, as a revolutionary socialist, for me to read Michael Harrington's remarks, printed in installments in the *Militant* [November 26, December 3, and December 10]. They are a perfect codification of everything wrong in the politics of lesser-evilism. Just as capitalism does, the so-called socialists of the Harrington breed dig their own graves.

Mr. Harrington makes a big issue of the Socialist Workers party "counterposing itself to the workers in the name of the workers." This contention is absolutely rubbish. Putting aside the most obvious answer

to this foolish remark—namely, that the SWP never claims to be the current voice of the majority of workers—it should be clear to an intelligent man as Mr. Harrington that what the SWP does do is explain the dead-end aspects of politics such as Mr. Harrington follows and set an example in the day-to-day unfolding of the class struggle in the United States.

Thousands of working people mobilized in the streets to fight against the war in Vietnam, but I don't remember seeing Mr. Harrington's group out there. Have the members of Mr. Harrington's group been explaining to whoever they talk to the significance of the Steelworkers Fight Back campaign in the USWA? I wonder if Mr. Harrington's now-President-elect Carter agrees with the nation's corporate voices, who want Sadlowski crushed.

More and more workers, each and every day, are recognizing that the only fruit borne by lesser-evilism is the continuation of evil. To continue to support such trash is to truly counterpose yourself to the workers, and their *vital* interests.

Mr. Harrington, if he is really a socialist, should join the Socialist Workers party in exposing each and every trick and ploy of the capitalist rulers, and not lend his support to a single Democratic upholder of the very thing he claims to want to replace.

Scott Cooper

Annapolis, Maryland

Southies

Throughout history ruling classes have used the strategy of divide-and-rule to turn oppressed groups against each other. That strategy is now working superbly in South Boston.

Why are there no remedial programs to help Southies overcome effects of the inferior public education to which they are subjected? Why are there no remotivation programs to present Southies with new career options and raise their levels of aspiration? Why are no liberal professors bending over backwards to get Southies into and through college? Why doesn't the Harvard Medical School have an aggressive affirmative-action plan for recruiting and retaining Southie medical students?

Until disadvantaged whites are given the same preferential treatment afforded other oppressed people, they have no choice but to view leftists as their enemies.

David Gray
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

'Law of Return'

One of the essential elements constituting the Palestine conflict, yet receiving little attention in the media, is the practice known as the "Law of Return," according to which all Jews have to go to Palestine. Once there, they automatically become Israeli citizens.

An immediate result of this practice has been the expulsion en masse of the Palestinian people at the hands of the Israelis, and Israeli persistence in preventing their return so that Jewish immigrants may replace them.

The problem with this "law," apart from its anachronistic and blatantly discriminatory character, is threefold: 1) through the exertion of undue pressure it infringes on the convenience, if not the rights, of many Jews who do not wish to go to Palestine; 2) it totally disregards the rights of an essential party to the resolution of the conflict, i.e., the Palestinians; and 3) if enough Jews

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



immigrate, Israeli expansion beyond tiny Palestine becomes necessary and a permanent confrontation, therefore, between Jewish immigrants and neighboring Arabs becomes unavoidable.

Thus, for the benefit of all, it seems it is the duty of Jew and gentile alike to see to it that international action is taken to repeal this anomaly known as the "Law of Return."

Ali Zaghab
Adelphi, Maryland

Supports Israel

So Israel is racist. Israel doesn't have enough trouble without you, so you must raise your voice to condemn her. Everyone is out of step but you. Keep your paper. I don't want it.

G.G.
West Palm Beach, Florida

Prisoners' rights

I am a delegate from the "Public Relations Department" of the FOICC (Forces of Inmate for Constructive Changes). It is our job to give the public an overdose of "absolute truth" regarding the seriousness of our conditions here at Georgia State Prison.

We are being held captive under substandard circumstances, under the guise of rehabilitation. In the past, due to lack of both public and inmate support, the majority of inmates were forced to submit passively to the injustices that were being perpetrated against us. Now is a new day and we have stopped licking our wounds. We have stood up to let the world know that we are now prepared to do all within our power to upgrade the atrocious conditions in Georgia State Prison.

We have organized as one and we are functioning within the realms of the law. We are now engaged in a legal battle with the administration in Brunswick, Georgia. The legal defense of the NAACP is supporting our suit. We are asking for redress on litigations involving brutality, racism, overcrowdedness, poor medical and health facilities, poor food, etc.

We have a legal pool within the walls, made up of conscientious inmates who realize our only salvation is "each other." Our slogan is "I am We, and We are the People." The objective of this legal pool is to accommodate the legal needs of any inmate who has had his constitutional rights violated by the administration.

A prisoner

Georgia

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Death in the mines

The last body was brought out of Scotia Coal Company's No. 1 mine on a cold wet day this fall at Oven Fork, Kentucky. The mine had been sealed since last March when two explosions snuffed out the lives of twenty-two coal miners and four federal mine inspectors.

Their families waited outside the mine while plastic bags with bodies inside were taken away. Normal burial came after entombment in the mine tunnels, once the owners were ready to open the mine.

It is little consolation to the living that the preventable cause of this mine tragedy has now been exposed. The facts, in and of themselves, are as likely to bring back the dead as to prevent willful negligence by the mine operators and their accomplices in government agencies.

But the findings of a congressional investigation, released December 6, ought to arouse working miners in the coalfields everywhere to use the new power of their union to impose better safety rules.

Investigators found that Scotia Coal Company "ignored" the federal Coal Mine Health and Safety Act, unlawfully operating under dangerous high-level methane gas conditions.

They found further that the federal Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration (MESA) allowed a persistent pattern of safety violations, levied minor penalties against the company, and failed to give warning of the potential disaster.

The first explosion on March 9, which killed fifteen miners, was found to be the fault of the mineowners. The second blast on March 11 killed eleven rescue workers. It was blamed on MESA, which "knew, or should have known," that deadly amounts of methane had built up after the first explosion.

Scotia No. 1 is now back in operation, one of many nonunion mines where miners have no protection.

The United Mine Workers has launched an organizing campaign throughout the Appalachian region, and has scored some recent victories. One of the reasons is the union's new safety program.

A recent issue of *United Mine Workers Journal* (November 16-30) lists the causes of most mine accidents: speedup, ignoring safety laws, poor maintenance.

nance, disregarding changing conditions at the coal face, using untrained workers on dangerous jobs, cutting down the necessary number of workers on a crew, improper supplies such as short roof bolts, and too much overtime work. All these causes are traced directly to mineowners' profit greed and their determination to destroy the union.

All miners are advised to "Refuse unsafe work. Your most direct weapon," says the *Journal*, "is the individual right to refuse to work in immediate danger. The right to withdraw is spelled out in Article III, Sec. (i) of the 1974 bituminous contract."

This has not yet brought any appreciable decline in mine fatalities. In the first nine months of this year eighty-six underground miners were killed compared with eighty-seven last year. Nonfatal disabling injuries totaled 6,310 for the first nine months of 1975 and jumped to 8,192 this year. These are miners who lost arms or legs or were crushed and will never work again.

MESA says these data do not show that mines are less safe, only that mineowners have been trained to report more accidents.

In underground mines, 5,285 nonfatal accidents were reported in the first nine months of 1975, and 6,601 this year.

This carnage in the mines will be halted when members of UMW bring the full power of their union behind the "individual right" of each and every miner to refuse to work under unsafe conditions—and not be suspended or fired for refusing.

Miners here know, of course, that after the blast their survivors can sue for damages. The widows of the fifteen miners who were killed in the first Scotia explosion have filed a \$60 million damage suit against the mine operator, Blue Diamond Coal Company. The attorney is Gerald Stern, who won a \$13.5 million settlement against Pittston Corporation after one of its illegal slag dams washed away, killing 125 people in the Buffalo Creek, West Virginia, flood disaster.

Under present laws and the prevailing methods of enforcing them the faceless, profit-bloated coal companies have a far better chance of survival than coal miners, and that ought to be changed.

Women in Revolt

Cindy Jaquith



Promises from Plains

The 1976 elections charade is not over yet. Rumors are still floating about possible Cabinet appointments of a woman, a Black. . . .

But as we get closer to inauguration day, women are beginning to see the damage done to the feminist cause by those who urged us to make a few sacrifices to get Mr. Jimmy into office.

The newspaper headlines are screaming nearly every day with new attacks on women's rights. Maternity rights slashed by the Supreme Court. Unemployment soaring. Affirmative-action guidelines cut back. Legal abortion under fire. What is this government going to do to us next, you wonder?

Jimmy Carter is not oblivious to the smoldering outrage in the women's movement. Nor is he blind to the anger of the unemployed, impoverished Blacks, and the general disillusion in this country with the two-party system.

He knows he got elected because his "new regime" is supposed to offer the hope of a change. The job of his transition team is to make us feel like that change is beginning to come about.

Barbara Blum, the highest-ranking woman on the "team," promises, "It's going to happen. It's going to be a new day."

An article by Robert Kaiser in the December 5 *Washington Post* reports on the expectations of some feminist leaders.

"Many activists in the movement believe that Jimmy Carter's campaign testament is true and credible—that he will, as he promised last October, 'tear down the walls that have kept you (women) out of decision-making and policy-making participation in your government,'" writes Kaiser.

"The Carter transition organization is encouraging this faith by soliciting women's names for almost

every government job and cooperating sympathetically with various women's groups." Kaiser interviewed *Ms.* editor Gloria Steinem. "I think there is a commitment," she told him. "Anyway, I have heard that there is a commitment to women at the Cabinet level."

Jane McMichael, director of the National Women's Political Caucus, said, "At this point we have to take them (the Carter camp) at their word."

The caucus, reports Kaiser, is lobbying for the appointment of former Rep. Bella Abzug and Patsy Mink as secretary of transportation and secretary of interior or health, education and welfare, respectively.

"Abzug is reliably said to feel that Carter owes her a job because she helped defuse women's protests at the Democratic National Convention last July," writes Kaiser.

It remains to be seen whether a token woman will be allowed to set foot in Jimmy Carter's Cabinet room—and how many more of our protests she will have to promise to "defuse" in order to nail down the job.

But while Carter pretends to be "cooperating sympathetically with various women's groups," we can see his real program for women taking shape. It's a program of vicious attacks on every front, designed to drive us back into the home and deliver a crippling blow to the feminist struggle.

Should we sit back and wait for The Word to come down from Plains on appointments? Should we keep our voices down so as not to embarrass Jimmy Carter?

This is what the Democratic party leaders in the women's movement want us to do. But women who need funds for abortions today can't sit back. Women who are fighting to get into all-male job trusts can't sit back. Women being forced out of their jobs because they're pregnant can't wait.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Annual shopping guide—In previous years, we've suggested Xmas gift items from a single, convenient store, Neiman-Marcus. But we feel their prices are no longer as reasonable as they might be, so this year we're offering a selection of best buys from other shops.

From the snore shop—Bergdorf Goodman is offering some nicely finished bed legs. In mother-of-pearl, \$3,000 a set. Ivory, \$4,000.

For stay-at-homes—If you have a spare acre of land, call Sakowitz in

Houston. They'll send out a Disney-land designer who will create an amusement park for you. It costs \$2 million, which isn't a great deal more than taking the family to the original.

Better than a security blanket—From the toy department at Garfinkel's in D.C., a cuddly little bear in bleached white Scandinavian mink, \$600.

Indulge yourself—Grosvenor Furs is offering a lynx coat for \$35,000. And it weighs only two pounds, making it less than \$1,100 an ounce. A company

spokesperson advises, "Buy something you will like and enjoy wearing, not something practical. . . ."

Room with a view—For someone moving west, a house near Santa Barbara. "All six rooms . . . open by sliding glass walls to enjoy views of the oak and sycamore studded meadows and the distant mountains. Beams and fireplace cheer the living room. . . . There's more sun also as the roof of the remarkable pool pavilion opens electronically to reveal swimming and therapy pools. . . . \$295,000.

Shop early for next year—Rolls Royce turned out seventy hand-made Camargues (\$90,000) this year, with twenty-five allocated for the United States. The problem is a fifteen-month wait for delivery. However, the standard Rolls, which goes for under \$45,000, should be in stock at your local dealer.

For the person who . . . isn't interested in baubles but would relate to a resplendent new world, a ten-week introductory subscription to the *Militant*. \$1.

—Merry Marxmas

By Any Means Necessary

Behind 'State v. Carter-Artis'

PATERSON, N.J.—Why is it, a high school student asked, a frame-up? A classmate replied, "They say they didn't do it. They say the police made it all up."

"And why are they being framed up?" she asked.

It was just one question that one person had asked one day at one murder retrial known as *State v. Rubin Carter and John Artis*. Who knows? Maybe it was embarrassment, maybe it was sheer confusion that kept her from asking other questions as she sat with her classmates observing the trial. Certainly, there had to be many others. So many questions have arisen that even a seasoned trial-goer has found himself puzzling. Such is the nature of this case.

Prosecution witnesses have contradicted themselves and each other. One prosecution witness changed his entire story. Prosecution logic has become twisted. Prosecution facts have become reversed. There are so many questions in this case.

But the high school student's question was the match in the gunpowder factory, the hinge on which the door of justice will ultimately swing. In a word, it was *the* issue. The frame-up.

Frame-ups often get put together this way. With

confusion.

Witnesses have to be coached and recoach. At times, witnesses have to be manufactured. Such as in the recently concluded trial of Lewis 17X Dupree in New York, where a longtime police plant had to suddenly—in the course of the defense's preparations for court—reveal himself as the sole "eyewitness" to the act.

Stories in frame-ups have to be coordinated. Evidence sometimes has to be manufactured. *Et cetera, et cetera.*

All of this requires exact coordination and supervision, so that in front of the jury it comes off smoothly.

But in this case bugs slipped into the prosecution's effort. Little gremlins began tossing monkey wrenches.

The "finding" of a shotgun shell and a .32-caliber bullet in Carter's car was to be the rabbit in the prosecution's top hat. If, the prosecution reasoned, they could pull it out, it would link Carter to the slayings.

Paterson detective Emil DiRobbio was to be the "finder." A "witness" to this "finding" was a must, so cop hanger-on Paul Alberta—a Passaic *Herald*

News reporter—was appropriately manufactured.

Now, let's turn back the clock to December 7 and place ourselves in the sixth floor Passaic County courtroom of Judge Bruno Leopizzi and listen to the testimony.

Officer DiRobbio, having been duly sworn, is on the stand. Under cross-examination DiRobbio admits he "just recently, since the beginning of this trial" discovered a major error in his police report on the identification of shells he found.

Next, DiRobbio yields as "an error" his mislabeling in his police report of shotgun shell boxes he found.

DiRobbio then testifies about finding the shotgun shell and bullet in Carter's car.

Alberta swears he observed DiRobbio find them, and swears he wrote in an article that he observed DiRobbio find them.

The next day the defense introduces the article as evidence. It says vaguely that a shell and bullet "were found in the car," and not that Alberta had specifically observed the finding.

The defense points out Alberta's discrepancy. The judge admonishes the jury of this. And the rabbit gets stuck halfway out of the hat.

Their Government

Levi's 'evenhandedness'

WASHINGTON—The Justice Department. What an enigma.

Those guys must have a code, a way of using the law to serve and protect us without our ever realizing how.

Why, only a couple of weeks ago Attorney General Edward Levi delivered a stirring reaffirmation of his "paramount concern": "the keeping of the faith in the essential decency and evenhandedness in the law."

It's the "evenhandedness" I can't quite get straight. Consider the following:

ITEM: Associated Press reported November 9 that "the Justice Department is conducting a criminal investigation into the leaking of the House intelligence committee report to Daniel Schorr."

That's after the House spent six months and \$150,000 and still couldn't come up with who had the audacity to make public a report the committee had prepared for public consumption anyway. But that was before the House decided the report violated "national security."

ITEM: Sources in the Justice Department leaked to the *Washington Post* November 9 news that the FBI has a green light to continue spying on the

Communist party. (That kind of "official leaking" is okay.)

The department sleuths apparently had better luck in reviewing the CP case than they did with Schorr. They found the CP doing such sinister deeds as "taking advantage of the present economic situation to attack capitalism publicly" and "endeavoring to gain public recognition as a legitimate political party." They judged the party a threat to "national security."

ITEM: Since 1970, government officials claim they have suggested to the Justice Department that it investigate South Korea's "influencing" scheme in the United States.

Now that it's developed into a full-fledged scandal involving up to ninety officials and congresspeople, the department is doing a little poking. But "there are some cases where clearly it would be in order to stop an investigation," warns a top Justice Department official. "If there was a real danger to national security, no one in his right mind would say we should proceed."

ITEM: The *New York Times* reported November 15 that the Justice Department doesn't have any interest in Dr. Orlando Bosch, the right-wing Cuban

Nancy Cole



terrorist believed responsible for the Cuban airliner crash in October that killed seventy-three people. Bosch is "wanted" in the United States for violation of parole. But the Justice Department has passed up chances to get him extradited. They told the State Department, says the *Times*, "it was preferable to leave him where he was."

(And while we're on the State Department—it reported November 10 that an investigation failed to find evidence of "any illegal or improper activity" by Iranian diplomats in this country. That was after the shah proclaimed in a television interview that his secret SAVAK agents spy on Iranian citizens here with the knowledge of the CIA.)

I guess what's confusing is that some investigations (like Schorr's and the CP's) are *started* because of "national security." Some (like the Koreans') may be *halted* because of "national security."

And some (like Bosch's)—where you'd think "national security" would be at stake—if by that you mean the security of the American people—don't ever happen.

It must be a code.

Tells of using electric chair

FBI informer takes stand in Hampton case

By Cecil Lampkin

CHICAGO—In December 1969 cops from the Cook County state's attorney's office carried out a murderous assault on a West Side apartment in which members of the Black Panther party were sleeping. When the gunfire stopped, Mark Clark and Fred Hampton lay dead.

This December, seven years later, the families of Clark and Hampton and the survivors of the raid are sitting in the courtroom of Judge Joseph Sam Perry. They are listening to the testimony of a key defendant in their multi-million-dollar lawsuit against those involved in the raid.

The testimony is that of William O'Neal, who served as an FBI informer in the Panther party. The FBI supplied the state's attorney's office with information for the raid.

O'Neal has been on the stand in federal district court here for two weeks.

His testimony began with questions on how and why he became an FBI informer. He told the court he was first contacted by the FBI early in 1969 when he and a friend were under arrest for auto theft.

After he met with FBI agent Roy Mitchell, charges were dropped against him. His friend was convicted.

A few weeks later O'Neal met with



O'NEAL: 'I was following orders'

Mitchell again. He gave him information on another auto theft and received his first payment as an informer.

O'Neal's cooperativeness prompted Mitchell to recommend to his superiors that O'Neal be used to infiltrate the Panther party.

O'Neal's testimony shows that one of his functions within the party was to sow dissension among members. He wormed his way up to "captain of security" and used this position to brand different members of the party as FBI agents.

In this capacity, O'Neal participated in the construction of an electric chair in party headquarters, supposedly to "scare off informants" within the party.

A horrified jury listened as O'Neal said, "I must say that the chair was wired to put out at most nine to twelve volts. It was for the most part harmless. It was a bluffing tactic."

When asked how he felt about building an electric chair to scare away informers—when he was an informer—O'Neal said, "Sir, I was acting pursuant to orders."

In the course of his testimony O'Neal said he once used the chair on a member accused of being an agent.

Under O'Neal's direction, other grisly projects were put into operation to "rid the party of agents." Among these were a fake nerve-gas dispenser, bullwhips, and stairs wired with an electric charge.

O'Neal said he gave the FBI membership lists, lists of contributors, and information on the sex lives of Panthers, including which ones were pregnant.

After O'Neal admitted stealing documents from the Panther headquarters, the following sequence of questioning by the plaintiffs' attorney, Jeffrey Haas, took place:

Haas. But you do know that stealing is a violation of the law.

O'Neal. Yes.

Haas. Didn't you consider taking contributors' lists and internal documents of the party stealing?

O'Neal. No, sir.

Haas. If it wasn't stealing, what was it, then?

O'Neal. Well, I would say that, due to my being captain of security, uh,

well, for a period of time, it was considered that everything in the headquarters was in my possession.

Haas. You mean to say you owned everything in the headquarters?

O'Neal. No, I didn't say I owned. I said it was in my possession.

Haas. Then what's the difference?

O'Neal. Well, as captain of security I was responsible for the headquarters and its contents. It was considered in my possession.

Haas. That meant you could give documents to the FBI or anyone you wanted to?

O'Neal. No, sir.

Haas. But that's what you did, didn't you?

O'Neal. Yes, sir.

Another sequence in the testimony went as follows:

Haas. Did you ever go to work with the Breakfast for Children Program?

O'Neal. There were times I was compelled to go.

Haas. And that was the only time you went—when you were compelled to go, is that right?

O'Neal. Yes.

Haas. You were not interested in feeding hungry children, were you?

O'Neal. Not particularly, no, sir.

Haas. You were more interested in the military aspects of the party, were you not?

O'Neal. I would say I was interested in detecting violations of the law.

But testimony revealed that it was O'Neal who was the violator of the law. He was arrested again for burglary and theft and other charges after he joined the Panthers. His bail was paid by Mitchell.

As captain of security, O'Neal helped acquire illegal weapons for the Panther headquarters—the same weapons used as a pretext for the raid. It was also O'Neal's job to visit homes of Panther members to check on their "security." He used these opportunities to supply the FBI with keys and floor plans of members' homes.

The plaintiffs' attorneys have had an uphill fight extracting the truth from O'Neal. The plaintiffs' lawyers have also been hampered by government stalling, rulings by Perry restrict-



Black Panther
HAMPTON: Seven years after his death, relatives and raid survivors are seeking justice.

ing testimony, plus incredible lapses of memory claimed by O'Neal.

Symbolic of the courtroom climate was an incident that occurred on the first day of O'Neal's testimony, when everyone was asked to stand and sing "Happy Birthday" to the judge. The judge explained to the court what it felt like to be eighty years old and told of his first association many years ago with that "young upstart named Richard J. Daley," now the mayor of Chicago. This ceremony completed, he sat down to conduct a "fair" trial.

**Secret Documents Exposed
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Tries to snow jury

State uses bullying at Carter-Artis trial

By Baxter Smith

PATERSON, N.J.—The prosecution in the Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis frame-up retrial has rested its case. But it has not emptied its bag of tricks.

"Did you have an active imagination at fifteen?" Assistant Prosecutor Ronald Marmo skeptically asked a defense witness December 13.

"No more than average," Erwin Schankereli, now twenty-five, replied.

"Do you have an active imagination now?" queried Marmo.

"No, to the contrary."

Schankereli had just presented eyewitness testimony that was contrary and damaging to the prosecution's case.

The prosecution is claiming that former boxing professional Carter, who is five feet seven inches tall, used a shotgun, and that Artis, six inches taller than Carter, used a pistol in the June 1966 triple slaying at the Lafayette Grill. But Schankereli testified he saw an "unusually tall" man carrying what he thought was a rifle, and a "slightly shorter" man running from the direction of the grill.

When stopped by police as suspects, Carter had on a light beige jacket and Artis wore a blue shirt and light blue pants. Schankereli said the taller man had on light-colored clothes and the shorter man wore a black jacket and hat.

Marmo scoffed at this description and tried to project Schankereli's story as make-believe.

Schankereli said he had told his mother the next day about what he saw but she replied, "It means nothing. Don't get involved." Consequently, he never testified at the first trial in 1967.

"So, 1968 passed, 1969 passed, 1970, 1971," said Marmo, pacing the courtroom, his face a picture of doubt. "And in 1976, ten years after it occurred, you are now coming forward."

"What good would it have done if I had contacted someone in 1970?" Schankereli replied. He said he had read about the 1974 recantation by the state's key witness, and it sparked his memory about what he had seen ten years ago from his second-story window.

"So I made up my mind to contact somebody," he said.

Marmo, however, using the loaded questioning he had employed against other defense witnesses, tried to trip up Schankereli and put a blotch over his testimony.

It has been this type of questioning and prosecution procedure that has marked every day of this month-old trial.

If not Marmo, then it is Prosecutor Burrell Humphreys who has tried to bulldoze witnesses and hornswoggle the jury into conviction—all with the approval, and sometimes with the participation, of Judge Bruno Leopizzi.

For example, when defense attorney Lewis Steel objected to Marmo's line of questioning Schankereli, Leopizzi ignored him.

"Could I have a ruling, Your Honor?" Steel pleaded.

"Your Honor—" Steel began again after getting no answer.

"Counselor!" Leopizzi ruled in the tone of a bark, "the state will have wide latitude on cross-examination."

At the defense table during such

exchanges, defendant Carter usually sits attentively and takes notes. After Leopizzi's remarks, he paused and looked up. Then he ran his boxing fingers over his glove-smooth head, trying to fathom who'd won and who'd lost that round.



CARTER: State is presenting a twisted case to frame him.

World protests halt hanging of Irish couple

The following article is from the News Analysis section of Intercontinental Press.

By Gerry Foley

On December 9, after the case had been under consideration for more than a month, a majority of the justices of the Irish Supreme Court voted to set aside the death sentences against Marie and Noel Murray.

Noel Murray's sentence was changed to life imprisonment at hard labor. In his wife's case, a mistrial was declared. She is to be tried again in a Special Criminal Court on the same charge.

This young couple had been sentenced to be hanged. The charge was that while escaping after a bank robbery, one of them shot an off-duty policeman who tried to stop them. Under Irish law, the death penalty is mandatory in the case of murder of police and prison officers, foreign diplomats, and visiting dignitaries. No death sentence has been carried out since 1954.

The government was obviously trying to establish a precedent for introducing the death penalty in political cases. Marie and Noel Murray were described in the press as "anarchists." But it was never made clear what this meant. What was clear was that they were members of no organization.

The Irish Supreme Court's decision to set aside the death sentences represents a major victory for the opposition to escalating repression in the neocolonialist Irish state.

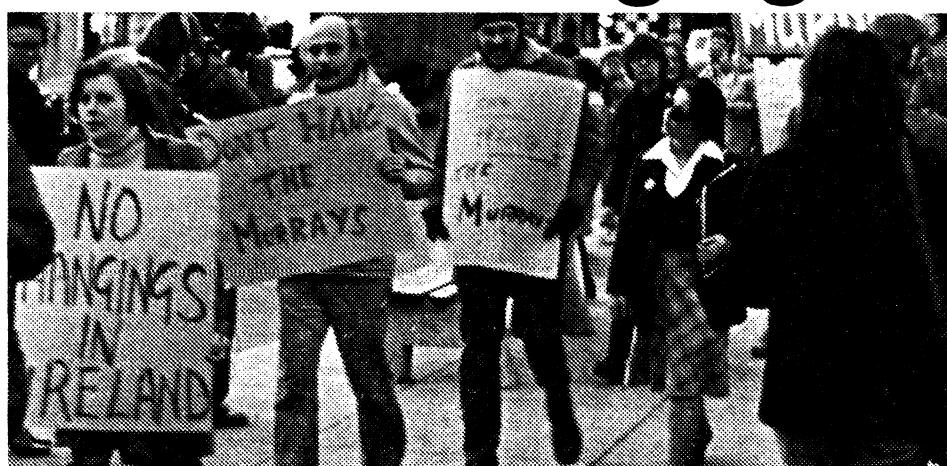
International campaign

The campaign to save the Murrays won wide international support. In the Netherlands, the Medical Judicial Committee for Political Prisoners, a group of 300 doctors and lawyers, took up the case. Socialist deputies raised questions about it in parliament.

More than 15,000 signatures were gathered on petitions for the Murrays in West Germany. Signers included Professor Ernst Bloch, Heinrich Böll, and Hans Magnus Enzensberger. Forty-three lawyers sent individual letters to the Irish Supreme Court. A resolution in support of the Murrays was passed by a large meeting of Amnesty International in West Berlin.

French journalists, lawyers, writers, and trade unions sent protests. Three civil liberties organizations sponsored a delegation to Dublin to observe the hearings.

In mid-November, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey toured the United States,



ON THE LINE FOR THE MURRAYS: Bernadette Devlin McAliskey (left) at St. Paul, Minnesota, protest.

making an appeal for the Murrays, at meetings and appearances across the country. In most large cities, her appeals were extensively reported in the mass media. Prominent civil libertarians and Irish-American groups began to take up the campaign to save the Murrays' lives.

McAliskey has broader credibility than any other Irish political figure. She was able both to take the case of the Murrays beyond Irish-American circles and begin to bring together dispersed and disoriented Irish activists in a campaign to save them. Activity around this case began to grow and to give new life and momentum to the American support movement for the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland.

The Dublin government, which is extremely sensitive to Irish-American opinion, must have seen this mushrooming of the campaign in defense of the Murrays and recognized its potential.

International support for the Murrays reinforced a groundswell of revolution in Ireland against the attempt to reintroduce political hangings. This

developed such momentum that the Labour party itself voted against capital punishment at its recent conference.

Behind victory

The movement that developed around the Murray case tended to repeat the formula that enabled the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement to shatter the stability of the colonialist regime in Northern Ireland and undermine the stability of the neocolonialist regime in Dublin.

The Murray case once again raised an issue of democratic and human rights that could be understood by wide circles outside the traditional Irish anti-imperialist movement. The weight of international public opinion began to turn against the defenders of the status quo in Ireland, the stability of which depends on permanent repression and the denial of democratic rights.

The defense of the Murrays brought together people from a wide spectrum of political views. In particular, it provided an issue on which all the socialist and Irish nationalist groups that oppose imperialist and neocolonialist repression could unite.

At the same time, the successful campaign for the Murrays disproved the idea put forward by some moderates that only "respectable" civil rights work can be effective. That is, in order to be practical, defenders of civil liberties must concede the right of the state to repress those who threaten its order. They must show they are "reasonable." Moreover, civil liberties activity has to be confined to persons and groups regarded as respectable by bourgeois public opinion, as against uniting all who are willing to take a

stand on the particular issue.

The witch-hunt campaign the government tried to whip up against so-called dangerous political fanatics began to be counteracted by the sickening sight of the state machine's brutality against an isolated young couple, awaiting death shut off from the world and refused permission even to see each other.

Continue struggle

How reluctant the government was to retreat on this case can be seen from the contradictory nature of the Supreme Court ruling. An Associated Press dispatch December 9 on the decision probably reflected the attitude of the government when it said that the ruling "postpones a showdown over the death penalty." There is no reason to think the government coalition has accepted defeat on this question.

It made no legal sense to set aside Marie Murray's trial and not Noel's. They were tried together. She was accused of actually firing the shot that killed the off-duty policeman, for which both were sentenced to hang. Furthermore, it made no legal sense to send Marie Murray back to the same kind of tribunal that the Supreme Court itself admitted had proved incapable of giving her a fair trial.

Moreover, if Marie's trial was unfair, then Noel's must have been too.

The campaign in defense of the Murrays should not stop after winning its first victory. It should be continued until justice is won. Full victory in this case can deal a sharp blow to the whole monstrous system of special political courts and to the Dublin government's plans for more repression. It can help to revive the mass movement for democratic rights in Ireland that has been in retreat for four years.



NOEL MURRAY



MARIE MURRAY

Hit cover-up of shah's dirty tricks in U.S.

The State Department announced November 9 that an inquiry it had conducted into the activities of SAVAK, the dreaded Iranian secret political police, in the United States had failed to turn up "any illegal or improper activity."

The inquiry had been ordered by Henry Kissinger after reports of SAVAK harassment of Iranian dissidents in the United States appeared in the press and after the shah of Iran admitted in a televised interview that SAVAK operated in the United States with the approval of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI) responded to the State Department's attempt to white-wash SAVAK's activities with a statement released November 17.

CAIFI described the kinds of activities SAVAK carries out in the United States and listed some specific examples of harassment of and threats against Iranian dissidents. They included the following:

- *Plotting assassinations.* Reza Baraheni, a distinguished poet who was imprisoned in Iran for 102 days and tortured by SAVAK, has been warned that he might be on a SAVAK assassination list.

Baraheni was publicly threatened with death while he was speaking on a CAIFI panel in Austin, Texas, February 5. On March 16, he was told by the police chief at San Jose State University in California that a plot had been discovered to kill him if he addressed a meeting there.

Two suspicious incidents against Iranian dissidents have already occurred. On February 22, Daria Bakhtaria, an active member of the Northern California chapter of CAIFI and an organizer of the Bay Area chapter, was shot and killed during a mugging in Oakland. His killer has not been apprehended. Babak Zahraie, field secretary for CAIFI and editor of *Payam Daneshjoo*, was threatened by an assailant with a gun in New York City in August.

• *Actions against the families of*

- *Iranian dissidents.* CAIFI has received information from very reliable sources in Europe that SAVAK is plotting to kidnap Baraheni's two children if he does not stop his criticisms of the shah.

Baraheni's niece, Narmin Baraheni, was arrested in Iran in January. A medical student at the University of Azarabadegan, she was sentenced to seven years in prison by a secret military tribunal. No charges have been made public.

- *Disruption of public meetings.* CAIFI listed five public meetings held in defense of human rights in Iran that were disrupted by individuals in the audience. Although the disrupters claimed to be against the shah, their chanting, shouting, and whistling was increased whenever speakers attempted to give specific information about SAVAK or the conditions in the shah's jails.

- *Spying, wiretapping, illegal break-ins, and forgery.* CAIFI appended three articles by syndicated columnist Jack Anderson, which reported the

contents of secret SAVAK documents that were obtained by him. They included instructions on how to conduct burglaries, forge passports, and make copies of keys.

One document, marked "Secret," states that all SAVAK branches should forward "information regarding demonstrations of dissident Iranians, strikes, suspicious traffic, students' calls to the imperial embassies and consulates, holding of meetings, publishing of publications, conventions and seminars."

Anderson also identified Mansur Rafizadeh, Iranian cultural attaché at the United Nations, as the head of SAVAK operations in the United States.

CAIFI concluded, "By expanding its terrorist activities to the United States, the SAVAK is drastically infringing on the rights of everyone living in the U.S.—citizens and non-citizens alike. . . . CAIFI calls for the identification of all SAVAK agents in the U.S. and their immediate expulsion."

Jurors dismissed, trial postponed

DC court attacks press operators defense

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—All 161 prospective jurors in the frame-up trial of fifteen *Washington Post* press operators were dismissed December 9.

Superior Court Judge Sylvia Bacon charged the defense had used "improper investigatory techniques" and that she could not ensure the "integrity" of the jury.

At a news conference the next morning, spokespersons for the press operators' defense committee condemned the dismissals and denied there were irregularities in the jury inquiry.

The trial is now postponed until February 14.

The fifteen men were indicted on charges of "rioting" and "grand larceny" last July after a nine-month grand jury investigation.

In October 1975 the *Post* forced Local 6 of the Newspaper and Graphic Communications Union on strike as part of a deliberate plan to break the union. Some presses were damaged the night of the walkout. Replacement parts cost \$13,000.

The *Post*, however, claimed damages totaled millions of dollars and launched a smear campaign that compared the "violent" strikers to "snipers" and "assassins."

The paper now employs nonunion press operators.

"For over a year the *Post* covered up its union-busting efforts with a spiteful



Militant/Nancy Cole

From left: Neal Busch, National Jury Project; Everett Forsman, president of Press Operators Local 6; David Rein, attorney for press operators.

collection of lies and distortions," Everett Forsman told the December 10 news conference. Forsman is cochairperson of the defense committee and president of Local 6.

The defense committee asked the National Jury Project to study the extent of pretrial publicity. The NJP found that 75 percent of district residents had already decided the press operators were guilty.

The defense moved to dismiss the case, arguing that an impartial jury

could not be found. The judge refused.

The NJP continued to investigate the prospective jurors' backgrounds to try to come up with the least prejudiced jury possible.

"The court's dismissal of the jury panel is unprecedented in the history of the National Jury Project," Forsman told reporters.

The NJP helped defense efforts in other frame-up trials, including those of Joanne Little, the Attica prisoners, and the Wounded Knee defendants.

Special steel issue spurs 'Militant' sales

By Nancy Fields

The December 10 *Militant*, headlined "Steel elections—Sadlowski challenges union bureaucracy," was well received by steelworkers across the country, judging from early reports reaching the Militant Business Office.

Of the areas we have heard from, the San Francisco Bay Area led the way. The Berkeley, Oakland, and San Francisco branches of the Socialist Workers party teamed up to sell 100 *Militants*, 20 subscriptions, and 20 copies of the pamphlet *The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel* in a weekend mobilization to the nearby steel town of Pittsburg, California.

At the gate of the big U.S. Steel plant there, salespeople must flag down cars as workers leave the company-owned parking lot. Nevertheless, they sold at least twenty *Militants* each time out. *Militants* were also sold door-to-door and in shopping centers.

Several cities used the special issue to organize steel plant-gate sales for the first time.

New York's six SWP branches searched out the steelworker-organized plants in their areas. The Queens

branch sold at Phelps Dodge, a copper fabricating plant. Since the *Militant* had never been sold there before, they first distributed leaflets describing the paper and *The Fight For Union Democracy in Steel*.

The first day, in a torrential downpour, they sold three papers and two pamphlets. The second day, eleven papers and two pamphlets were bought by workers who had seen the paper the day before but hadn't stopped because of the rain.

On the third day, salespeople were greeted even more enthusiastically by workers who had heard about the *Militant* from others inside the plant. Twelve papers and five pamphlets were sold that day.

Militant salespeople report that workers were particularly interested in the speeches by the Steelworkers Fight Back candidates included in the six-page special feature.

Another highlight of the issue that brought a response from women workers was the interview with a woman steelworker detailing her long struggle for equal opportunity in the plants.

Queens SWP organizer Jay Ressler commented, "With the increased coverage of the Sadlowski campaign in the *Militant* between now and the union election, the good response we got this week is bound to increase. We plan to continue weekly sales at Phelps Dodge and hit other plants as well."

Mimi Pichay, organizer of the new SWP branch in Kansas City, Missouri, reports that thirty-five *Militants* were sold at Armco Steel and Allis Chalmers, despite freezing rain.

Three Philadelphia socialists sold fifteen *Militants* at the Allen Wood Steel Company in Conshohocken between 11:30 and midnight one night. Workers buying the paper had just returned from union meetings where they overwhelmingly rejected a company plan to cut their wages 15 percent. The company threatens to lay off the entire work force if this pay cut is not accepted.

The three Detroit SWP branches have each selected one plant to sell at regularly. Forty-five copies of the steel issue were sold at Jones & Laughlin, Great Lakes Steel, and McLouth Steel.

The defense committee contends the jury's dismissal will only lead to more prejudicial publicity against the press operators. Defense attorney David Rein pointed to that day's *Post* story as an example.

He said there were numerous lies and distortions in it. For instance, the *Post* reported that the NJP was provided a list of prospective jurors without the judge's knowledge.

"The fact is that we requested the list from Judge Bacon a week ahead of time so that we could give it to the National Jury Project," Rein said.

Contrary to the *Post*'s assertion, he said, a list of prospective jurors is not confidential, but a matter of public record.

NJP spokesperson Neal Busch explained that investigating prospective jurors is an established technique. Every major metropolitan area has a jury information service that performs functions similar to the NJP's, he said.

But it's usually done for law firms that represent insurance companies or corporations. The government uses its own "law enforcement" agencies for jury inquiries.

Forsman called the court decision "the latest in a long series of instances of the criminal justice system being used to assist strikebreaking at the *Washington Post*." He pledged that the defense committee "will persevere until the fifteen pressmen are vindicated."

Tacoma, Washington, socialists sold twenty papers at steel plants and met many workers interested in both the Sadlowski campaign and the Socialist Workers party. One steelworker who bought the paper has already asked about joining the SWP.

Distribution of leaflets describing 'Militant' aided plant-gate sales.

Chicano construction workers in bitter strike

By Harry Ring

PHOENIX, Ariz.—Striking construction workers here, many of them Chicanos, are carrying on an uphill fight against one of the nation's giant builders.

Since September 27, three unions have been on strike at Sun City, a large retirement housing tract being built by the Del Webb Development Company, a subsidiary of Del Webb Corporation.

The Del Webb Corporation, along with other construction firms in the state, has a master agreement with the building-trades unions.

When the Sun City contract expired last June, however, the company took the position that Del Webb Develop-

ment should not sign the master contract.

It insisted that because they provide steady, year-round work, the Sun City builders are entitled to pay lower wages.

General construction firms, for example, are now paying laborers \$7.43 an hour. Del Webb Development is standing on last year's rate of \$7.13 an hour. In addition, it is demanding a cut in medical benefits and pension contributions for the Sun City workers.

The company also wants to renegotiate job classification to shift work from higher-paying brackets to lower ones.

Three unions—the Laborers, Carpenters, and Cement Finishers—went on strike demanding that Del Webb Develop-

ment sign the master contract in effect for the general industry. Laborers Local 383 has the most members on strike.

With a majority-Chicano membership, Local 383 has helped give the strike a more militant direction. It has organized march-vigils of members and supporters in downtown Phoenix in an effort to mount pressure on the company by cutting into housing sales.

Initially, with the cooperation of other building-trades unions, the strikers shut down Sun City construction completely. After about a month, however, several key foremen returned to work and the company began hiring scabs. It is estimated that they have developed construction to about 25 percent of normal.

The officers of the Laborers used to be all white. This changed in 1973 when Bill Soltaris, a Chicano worker, was elected business manager.

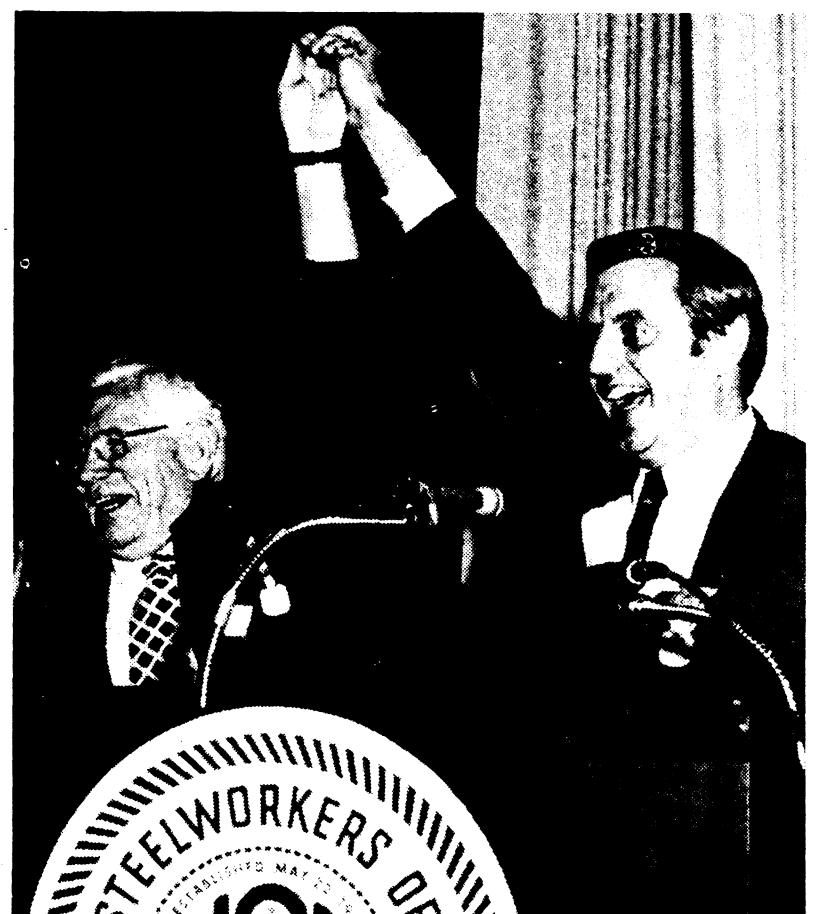
Now there are Chicanos and Blacks on staff and the union is regarded as one of the more progressive in the state. Since 1973 it has provided support to the struggles of the United Farm Workers. UFW members, in turn, are now trying to aid the Laborers' strike.

The situation is a very difficult one for the striking unions. And if they are defeated it will set a dangerous precedent for all construction unions, encouraging Del Webb and others to remove tract-housing construction from the terms of general building-trades contracts.

DEBS VS. ABEL



Debs speaks in Chicago, 1910



Abel with Walter Mondale at 1976 USWA convention

Steel Labor

By Frank Lovell

The race for president of the United Steelworkers of America is between Ed Sadlowski and Lloyd McBride, but the voice of a third party has figured in the election debate lately. That is Eugene V. Debs, the pioneer of industrial unionism and the greatest socialist agitator this country has ever known.

At a Sadlowski rally in Houston last month, a local union president who supports McBride demanded of the insurgent candidate, "Are you a socialist? The hope was to embarrass Sadlowski and push the notion that Sadlowski's supporters, some of whom are socialists, are "outsiders" with no place in the labor movement.

Sadlowski responded, "In the sense of Eugene Debs, yes." The right-winger, who said he had never heard of Debs, must have been surprised. And even more so when Sadlowski told him that USWA President I.W. Abel had once received a Debs award.

As Sadlowski added, "Debs will turn over in his grave a few times."

DEBS: 'We deny that there is anything in common between workingmen and capitalists. We insist that workingmen must organize to get rid of capitalists.'

It was on March 13, 1975, that Abel was the guest of honor at the Eugene V. Debs Award Dinner in New York City. The Debs award dinner is an annual affair where top AFL-CIO officials and their friends gather to congratulate each other and pay tribute to themselves. They use the memory of Debs for these purposes.

Abel reminded his fellow bureaucrats that "all of us today are the beneficiaries of Debs' relentless and zealous defense of the poor and the oppressed . . . of his persistent outcry against injustice wherever he found it . . . his visionary faith in industrial unionism . . . and his unyielding crusade against corporate greed and brutality in his time." True.

It is also true that the prospect of future generations will improve vastly when union leaders pattern themselves after Debs instead of defaming his memory by their daily conduct. What Abel, McBride, and others like them stand for today is the exact opposite of the great Debs.

Fairless Memorial Lectures

Abel summed up his own philosophy of labor leadership when he delivered the Benjamin F. Fairless Memorial Lectures in 1975 at Carnegie-Mellon University in Pittsburgh.

Benjamin F. Fairless was president of the United States Steel Corporation for fifteen years. That Abel would choose such a platform to expound his views says something.

So does the title of Abel's talks, which have been published as a small book: *Collective Bargaining/Labor Relations in Steel: Then and Now*. What has changed from then to now? In Abel's words, a "long, bumpy journey" has brought labor and management "from a time of bitter conflict to a time when both sides finally were able to approach problems of mutual concern with respect for the integrity of the other."

This is not such a new idea. Debs had a lot of experience with what he called "the old unionism [that] is organized upon the basis of the identity of interests of the capitalist and working classes." He had nothing good to say for it.

Debs stood for unions organized "not to conciliate, but to fight the capitalist class." He told a 1905 rally for industrial unionism: "We deny that there is anything in common between workingmen and capitalists. We insist that workingmen must organize to get rid of capitalists. . . .

It may be thought by some that Debs and Abel share a common belief in the destiny of the working class because both were identified with the union movement and both talked about revolution.

Here is Abel: "I see the role of the labor movement as one of making sure that we have a steady, unceasing social revolution that gives top priority to the needs of man—a revolution that erases the seething indignation among minority groups, brings security and dignity to workers, eliminates the fears of old age and meets the expectations of the young."

'The day of the people'

Debs championed a different kind of revolution. Listen to Debs. Here is what he said in 1919 not long before beginning a ten-year prison sentence imposed for his opposition to World War I:

"The people are ready for their day. *THE PEOPLE*, I say. Yes, *the people!*

"Who are the people? The people are the working class, the lower class, the robbed, the oppressed, the impoverished, the great majority of the earth. They and those who sympathize with them are the people, and they who exploit the working class, and the mercenaries and menials who aid and abet the exploiters, are the enemies of the people.

"That is the attitude of Lenin and Trotsky in Russia and was of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, and this accounts for the flood of falsehood and calumny which poured upon the heads of the brave leaders and their revolutionary movement from the filthy mouthpieces of the robber regime of criminal capitalism throughout the world. . . .

"The reign of capitalism and militarism has made

of all peoples inflammable material. They are ripe and ready for the change, the great change which means the rise and triumph of the workers, the end of exploitation, of war and plunder, and the emancipation of the race. Let it come! Let us all help its coming and pave the way for it by organizing the workers industrially and politically to conquer capitalism and usher in the day of the people.

"In Russia and Germany our valiant comrades are leading the proletarian revolution, which knows no race, no color, no sex, and no boundary lines. They are setting the heroic example for world-wide emulation. Let us, like them, scorn and repudiate the cowardly compromisers within our own ranks, challenge and defy the robber-class power, and fight it out on that line to victory or death!

"From the crown of my head to the soles of my feet I am Bolshevik, and proud of it.

"The Day of the People has arrived!"

ABEL: 'We do not advocate a different economic system, neither do we champion formation of another political party.'

Abel would never say anything like that. He is always anxious to assure the employers which side he is on in any coming showdowns. In his Fairless lectures he cited "two facts that are either unnoticed or unappreciated."

Two-party system

"I refer," said Abel, "to labor's acceptance and support of the free enterprise system as the system under which our economy should, and does, function. I also refer to labor's ability to function within our two-party political system."

Debs spent most of his life polemicizing against both these ideas. Here is a typical example:

"We hear it frequently urged that the Democratic Party is the 'poor man's party,' 'the friend of labor.' There is but one way to relieve poverty and to free labor, and that is by making common property of the tools of labor. . . .

"The differences between the Republican and Democratic parties involve no issue, no principle in which the working class has any interest. . . .

"Between these parties socialists have no choice, no preference. They are one in their opposition to socialism, that is to say, the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery, and every workingman who has intelligence enough to understand the interest of his class and the nature of the struggle in which it is involved will once and for all time sever his relations with them both; and recognizing the class struggle which is being waged between producing workers and nonproducing capitalists, cast his lot with the class-conscious,

revolutionary Socialist Party, which is pledged to abolish the capitalist system, class rule and wage slavery. . . .

These are the words of Debs in 1900 and for the next quarter-century he never deviated from his goal. He was five times candidate for president of the United States on the Socialist ticket, the last time in 1920 from the federal prison in Atlanta. He received close to a million votes that they counted. Every one was a vote for socialism.

Abel is an enemy of socialism. "We do not advocate a basically different economic system," he says, "and neither do we champion the formation of another political party."

No-strike deal

How does Abel seek to improve "the system"? In collaboration with the employers. In the steel industry he boasts of the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), in which the union hands over its strike weapon.

"I believe," he says, "that the procedure we used so successfully last year in our Basic Steel negotiations [that is, ENA] demonstrates that organized labor is willing to join in mutual endeavors that help the growth and development of Industry and also help protect job opportunities."

Industry was protected, but not jobs. The growing legions of unemployed steelworkers in 1976 testify to this.

In his book on prison life, *Walls and Bars*, Debs explained why there can never be a partnership between capital and labor:

"Private appropriation of the earth's surface, the natural resources, and the means of life is nothing less than a crime against humanity, but the comparative few who are the beneficiaries of this iniquitous social arrangement, far from being viewed as criminals meriting punishment, are the exalted rulers of society and the people they exploit gladly render them homage and obeisance.

"The few who own and control the means of existence are literally the masters of mankind. The great mass of dispossessed people are their slaves. . . .

"The capitalist of our day, who is the social, economic and political successor of the feudal lord of the Middle Ages, and the patrician master of the ancient world, holds the great mass of the people in bondage, not by owning them under the law, nor by having sole proprietorship of the land, but by virtue of his ownership of industry, the tools and machinery with which work is done and wealth produced.

"In a word, the capitalist owns the tools and the jobs of the workers, and therefore they are his economic dependents. In that relation the capitalist has the power to appropriate to himself the products of the workers and to become rich in idleness while the workers, who produce all the wealth that he enjoys, remain in poverty."

* * *

These brief quotations are from two books only: *Collective Bargaining/Labor Relations in Steel: Then and Now*, by I.W. Abel and *Eugene V. Debs Speaks*, edited by Jean Tussey. We believe the books do justice to both men, and we urge readers to order both for more complete information. The Abel book is distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, and can be obtained from United Steelworkers, Five Gateway Center, Pittsburgh. *Debs Speaks* is published by Pathfinder Press, New York.

Further reading

Eugene V. Debs Speaks edited by Jean Y. Tussey. Introduction by James P. Cannon. 320 pp. paper \$2.95, cloth \$9.

The Fight for Union Democracy in Steel by Andy Rose. 38 pp. 50 cents.

A Struggle for Union Democracy: The story of the Right to Vote Committee in the United Transportation Union by Ed Heisler. 46 pp. 75 cents.

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Lessons from L.A. union

Steel no-strike pact: 'sugar coating on an arsenic pill'

By Arnold Weissberg

LOS ANGELES—One of the top issues in the United Steelworkers election campaign is the no-strike pledge signed by the present union leadership.

Called the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), it is part of the contract covering roughly 400,000 workers in the basic steel industry. ENA was signed by the top union brass in 1973, but never submitted to a ratification vote of the membership.

Ed Sadlowski, presidential candidate on the Steelworkers Fight Back slate, condemns ENA as "completely opposite to what the labor movement should be all about." He has pledged to hold a membership vote on ENA if he is elected.

"Official family" candidate Lloyd McBride of course supports the no-strike deal 100 percent.

I recently talked with several Los Angeles-area steel unionists about ENA. One of them was Jack Sheppard, a member of USWA Local 2058 since 1944 and an active supporter of the Fight Back campaign.

ENA, Sheppard said, takes away the most basic weapon of the workers for self-defense: the right to strike. It is supported by the employers because it weakens the union, and it is bound to cripple steelworkers' efforts to defend and improve their wages, working conditions, and jobs.

But to many steelworkers today, he said, this crippling effect is not at all obvious. The reason is that the 1974 contract, the first one negotiated under ENA, was relatively good for the workers—better than past contracts.

"The ENA was put over by buying off part of the workers," Sheppard declared bluntly. "But the 1974 settlement was just sugar coating on an arsenic pill."

We discussed a similar situation that arose in Sheppard's plant, the Maywood, California, American Bridge Division of U.S. Steel. In 1974 the company sought to introduce an incentive in the plant. An incentive plan is a system of speedup designed by the bosses to get more production out of the workers. "Efficiency experts" set a work standard. If you exceed that standard, your wages—they tell you—will rise proportionately.

The reality is that the company constantly reevaluates the standards. After a while, the production rate goes up. "Eventually the worker is pretty well pressed to meet the incentive quotas, and for very little extra money," Sheppard said.

That's what he expects from ENA, too. After an initially good settlement, the steel bosses will get tougher and tougher. And the union will have its hands tied.

At American Bridge, the company first sought to introduce the incentive plan in a department that made power line transmission towers. U.S. Steel claimed their plan would increase wages about 20 percent over the normal wage scale.

Sheppard said the plan was greeted with hostility by old-timers in the plant, who had been burned by such speedup schemes during the lean years of the depression.

But the company eased off the work load in the

tower department, allowing the workers to make more money for less work—an open attempt to buy their support for the plan.

According to the contract, the bosses could institute the plan in one department for six months. At the end of that time, the workers could vote whether to keep it. Once it was accepted in one department, though, the company could put in incentive plans throughout the entire plant at will.

The union began a discussion of the incentive plan. After several months, the entire executive board came to oppose it, Sheppard said. They also finally agreed that the entire membership should decide the issue.

Voting was a critical issue for two reasons. First, as an elementary part of union democracy, members should have the right to vote on all such important questions affecting their wages and working conditions.

Second, a plant-wide vote was necessary because, Sheppard said, most of the workers in the tower department favored the plan out of narrow, immediate considerations. Many of them agreed that in the long run the bosses would take back all concessions. But many younger workers figured they wouldn't be working there for long. They just wanted to take as much money home right now as they could, without regard for the interests of their fellow workers.

During the ten days between setting the date and the vote itself, the union's elected leadership had to make up for nearly six months of neglect. Two well-motivated, educational leaflets were distributed at the gates by the executive board members. In addition, meetings to discuss the incentive plan were held in the plant.

The union agreed in its leaflets and meeting that the workers would make some more money immediately. But, it added, the bosses would just use the plan to crank up production to a level where the workers couldn't live with it.

The union's educational campaign was successful. The vote was about 400 to 100 against the plan.

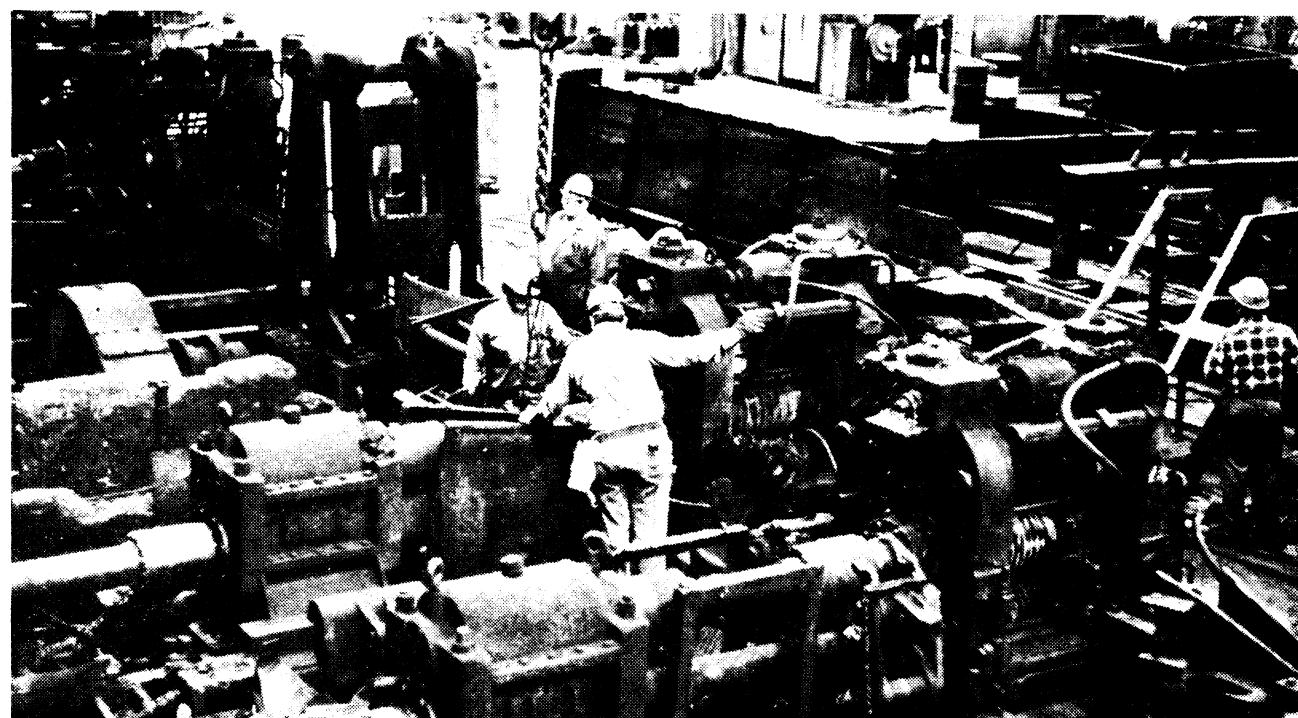
Sheppard commented that the success of the campaign against incentive speedup in his plant offers a useful lesson for the fight to scrap ENA in coming agreements.

"For one thing," he noted, "the ENA only covers basic steel. It may provide some immediate benefits for those covered by it. But workers in the fabricating plants don't benefit from it at all. Meanwhile, the union has accepted the dangerous precedent of a no-strike pledge."

Steelworkers opposed to ENA have to be able to explain that yes, the steel companies were willing to pay a little extra to get the ENA no-strike agreement. But it was only because the bosses know that if workers are stripped of the right to strike, they'll be able to take back those extras—and more—in subsequent agreements.

Sheppard feels strongly that a well-planned educational campaign exposing the real meaning of ENA could be successful.

"Even workers with the most rudimentary understanding of unionism recognize the need for the right to strike," he said.



Rolling mill in Chicago steel plant. ENA will cripple workers' efforts to improve working conditions, win higher wages, safeguard jobs.

Jenness speaks in Madrid

Spain: women's struggle 'vigorous & growing'

By Joanna Rossi
From Intercontinental Press

MADRID—An audience of 150, ranging in age from young children to older women and men, came December 1 to hear a talk by Linda Jenness, an American feminist and leading member of the Socialist Workers party, who is currently on a three-week speaking tour of Spain.

It was the first neighborhood meeting authorities had allowed. An earlier meeting had been banned (see box).

A representative of the community center explained that the evening's topic was to be "The Women's Liberation Movement in the U.S." Nothing else, he explained, apparently in a reference both to socialism and to Spain-related topics, had been permitted.

Jenness, informed of this only minutes before the meeting began, hastily made some changes in her original talk on "Feminism and Socialism." Nevertheless she ended by explaining that as a revolutionary socialist she believed that only a socialist revolution would lay the basis for the complete liberation of women. "In the United States, I mean," she added with a smile. The audience rocked with laughter.

Despite the presence of several policemen who were there to ensure the meeting did not stray from the permitted topic, the evening was the liveliest so far.

In the discussion following the talk, questions were asked on abortion rights, the hypocritical morality of the Catholic church hierarchy, and whether women are biologically inferior to men.

An older man presented his opinion that women were inferior to men. He spoke about "men's superior strength" and "the problems women have because of their different hormones." Several young women in the audience burst into spirited rebuttal. They were typical of women Jenness has met everywhere on her tour, impatient with backward prejudices and reactionary laws, new adherents to the vigorous and growing Spanish women's liberation movement.

The day before, Jenness met with leaders of four of the main women's liberation organizations in Madrid at a round-table discussion held in the offices of a prominent Madrid feminist lawyer.

Discussion centered at first on adultery and divorce, two of the central issues which have emerged to date in the Spanish feminist movement. One of the women present pointed out that



Linda Jenness addresses meeting of 500 at University of Madrid

the feminist movement is also raising the broader demand of amnesty for women in jail for any so-called female crimes, such as adultery, abortion, or home abandonment. This last "crime" refers to women who leave their home without the permission or consent of their husband, or their father if they are under the legal age.

One leader of the Women's Liberation Front expressed the opinion that capitalist society can satisfy the immediate demands women are raising. "I think it can grant equal salary, free education, child care, free abortions. I think it can accommodate demands around the family."

She said the women's movement should not concentrate too much on fighting for such reforms, but should advance demands that capitalism could not grant. Other women disagreed.

"I think the capitalist system can grant some reforms here and there," Jenness said. But capitalism cannot grant, cannot guarantee, all the demands women are raising, and certain-

ly not their complete liberty. I believe that capitalism cannot exist without the present family structure and the economic oppression of women. The fight of women for their immediate demands, such as child-care centers, equal pay, and abortion and divorce rights, is essential to the women's liberation movement and to the entire working class." Many women nodded in agreement.

Jenness also took issue with a leader of the Feminist Collective, who expressed the opinion that a feminist revolution will be sufficient to eliminate women's oppression.

"We must not forget that women are not the only ones oppressed or exploited under this society," Jenness said. She pointed to Blacks and Chicanos in the United States and spoke also of the exploitation of the working class, both male and female, under capitalism.

"We need two things," she said. "An independent women's movement, led by women, organized around our own demands, and forging alliances with other oppressed sectors. We also need a

revolutionary party with a conscious leadership that can help direct all the struggles toward a successful socialist revolution."

A representative from the Democratic Women's Association started from another point of view. She believed that women should fight primarily as part of the struggle for democratic rights. "Only after we have achieved a democracy in Spain," she said, "can women fight for their particular needs." Jenness disagreed strongly.

"Women should wait for nothing. They should organize and fight right now. In doing so we of course participate in other, wider struggles." Some women agreed, others did not.

"But," Jenness pointed out, "this exchange of ideas is important. We should discuss all of our differences in an atmosphere of democracy and respect. And the crucial thing is to unite around all the demands—and there are many—that we can agree on." On this there was agreement.

These and related questions were taken up in the talk Jenness gave later that evening to 500 persons at the University of Madrid. On the speaker's platform with her were members of the Liga Comunista (Communist League) and the Liga Comunista Revolucionaria (Revolutionary Communist League), sympathizing organizations of the Fourth International, which are cosponsoring Jenness's tour.

While in Madrid Jenness has had many interviews with the Spanish press, including a long article published in *El País*, the leading Madrid daily. Her visit was announced on national television.

Earlier stops on the tour included Barcelona and Valencia. In Valencia she spoke to two university meetings, one of 700, the other, 200.

From Madrid Jenness goes on to Seville in the south, and to Zaragoza, Pamplona, and Bilbao in the north.

Spanish 'democracy' prohibits meeting

Huge posters have appeared on billboards all over Spain exhorting people to vote in the December 15 referendum, which is supposedly being held to move the country toward real democracy.

One reads: "Together we can build democracy. Let's vote December 15."

That Spain is not a democracy is more than evident here today. Members of political parties opposed to the fraudulent referendum have

been jailed for urging a boycott, and public meetings, which must have official governmental permission to be held, are frequently banned.

Such was the case with the first meeting scheduled to be addressed by Linda Jenness in a working-class neighborhood of Madrid on December 1. People arriving to hear her speech encountered a detachment of Civil Guards at the entrance to the

meeting hall and quickly melted back into the side streets.

According to the letter from the Civil Government of Madrid, the gathering was prohibited because it "could give rise to actions regarded as crimes under the Penal Code." It was not specified by the authorities what crimes they thought might be committed at a public meeting on the women's movement.

S. Korean payoffs paid off in Capitol vote

By Nancy Cole

WASHINGTON—The South Korean investment in U.S. congresspeople definitely paid dividends last spring when Democrats and Republicans alike voted to ditch legislation unfavorable to the Park Chung Hee dictatorship.

Sixty of the 241 House members who voted against the amendment to a military aid bill are known to have received "favors" from the South Korean lobby. Many are prominent congresspeople in positions to influence others.

The measures they voted to delete would have reduced American troops in South Korea and cut military and economic aid to the Park regime.

Congress has approved more than \$12 billion for South Korea since 1953. To ensure that the steady flow continued, President Park and the Korean CIA devised an elaborate payoff campaign in 1970.

Some of those who led the pro-Korea vote last spring are:

- Rep. Clement Zablocki, second-ranking Democrat on the International Relations Committee. Zablocki is on the advisory council of the Korean Cultural and Freedom Foundation, an anticommunist outfit headed by Pak Bo Hi. Pak is interpreter and chief aide for Rev. Sun Myung Moon and reportedly a KCIA agent.

According to the *New York Times*, Zablocki is "warmly welcomed" on his trips to South Korea, and he received an honorary degree from a university there.

- Rep. William Broomfield, senior Republican on the International Relations Committee. Broomfield is also entertained during his trips to South Korea and received an honorary degree.

He was offered, but claims he refused, money from Park Tong Sun, the

KCIA's chief operative in the "Buy Congress" drive.

- Rep. Edward Derwinski, second-ranking Republican on the same committee. Derwinski was decorated by President Park and is also entertained.

- Rep. Carl Albert, House speaker last spring. Sue Park Thomson, one of Albert's aides, has been identified as a KCIA agent.

- Rep. Thomas O'Neill, majority leader last spring, now House speaker. Park Tong Sun has twice given birthday parties for O'Neill.

- Rep. John McFall, House majority whip. He admitted accepting \$3,000 from Park Tong Sun.

Broomfield, Derwinski, and Zablocki were responsible for initially defeating the aid amendment in committee. When it came up again and made it to the House floor, they led opposition to it. It was defeated 241 to 159.

That evening, the *New York Times*

reports, "many of the Congressmen who had fought for the Korean position helped jubilant diplomats and lobbyists celebrate at a party given by the South Korean Embassy."

The bribery scandal is having an impact in South Korea itself. A protest of 500 students in Seoul December 8 called for a full inquiry into the payoff scheme. The demonstration was broken up by police and student leaders were arrested.

Meanwhile, a KCIA official here was recently ordered back to South Korea. Rather than face an unknown fate there, he decided to stay and talk—provided the FBI wants to listen.

The only thing is, you can't "defect" from a country the United States is allied with. There's no "political asylum" here, the State Department says, for fugitives from "friendly" nations.

He will undergo "a readjustment of his visa status" instead.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS, A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

DECEMBER 24, 1976

Appeal for international support

Argentine prisoners describe life behind bars

[The following article appeared in the November 4-10 issue of *Informations Ouvrières*, the Paris weekly reflecting the views of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (Internationalist Communist Organization). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

Two Brazilian citizens, held in Argentina, have recently been freed from the prisons of the Videla military junta. They had been held a year and a half. One of them, María, was imprisoned at Villa Devoto, where our comrade Diana Cuatrocchi is being held. The other, Abi, was held in the prisons of Rawson, Resistencia, and Alcaldia, and at Central Police Headquarters. There he met our comrades from *Política Obrera* (Workers Politics) Horacio Correa, R. Galitelli, Gelman, and Perretti.

A representative of *Informations Ouvrières* met with them in Europe, where they are at present in exile. Here is their testimony and the appeal they have made on behalf of their comrades still in prison.

Question. What are the conditions facing political prisoners in the prisons of Resistencia?

Answer. After the coup, we were subjected to four inspections a week. At the end of April, they refused to let us have books, magazines, and newspapers. On May 4, at dawn, some 300 army noncoms ordered us into solitary confinement cells after forcing us to strip naked. They began to humiliate us. Cigarettes and matches were confiscated. Since that date, all prisoner contact with the outside world has been forbidden. They have not authorized any family visits and have withheld mail. I want to point out that there were 520 of us in Resistencia. Previously, all letters we received were opened and censored by the guards. Beginning in May, we stopped getting mail.



One of thousands of Argentine political prisoners subject to brutal treatment by Videla regime.

Q. And the women, in Villa Devoto?

A. Beginning November 22, 1975, that is, before the coup, they put us under maximum security. The situation is similar to the one described by Abi. But it should be pointed out that in our section there were twenty comrades, with small children, and that access to water was limited to six minutes a day. Hygienic conditions were atrocious. We could not get the food that was sent by our families, and the prison food was inedible.

Diana Cuatrocchi was in section 41, next to me. She was the one who made the strongest protests. What spirit that comrade had!

Q. How was the comrades' morale in

the prisons?

A. We had an underground coordinating committee in Resistencia, and this helped keep up comrades' spirits. Horacio Correa was savagely beaten, just as we all were. Montenegro, who was the section representative, was savagely tortured. Galitelli was a great organizer; he was in charge of gymnastics. We used to call him minister of culture and sports.

Q. How many political prisoners are there in Argentina?

A. According to the estimates of the prisoners themselves, there are around 20,000. In section A2 of Resistencia, there were twelve workers, five doctors,

position to describe what really happened. The guards found a message on Nestor during a search. They took him to a punishment cell and subjected him to three sessions of torture, which he did not survive.

This crime is one of the most brutal of the military dictatorship, comparable to those committed against the comrades imprisoned in Córdoba, who have been killed "while trying to escape."

Comrade Nestor had studied at the University of La Plata, where he participated in the student struggles of 1958-1960. He entered into contact with left organizations before returning to his native village of General Roca (in the province of Rio Negro). In 1967 he decided to plunge actively into revolutionary activity, to give up his profession, and to move to Buenos Aires. There he joined the PRT-Combatiente, in which he took part in the debate

one lawyer, two engineers, seven students, four bus drivers, two soldiers, four foreigners, three eighteen-year-old minors, nine office workers, and an ex-seminarian. That makes fifty prisoners in one section, out of a total of eight sections in Resistencia.

Q. And is there a list drawn up by the government with the prisoners' names?

A. We do not know for sure, but the government refuses to publish such a list. Surely, given the total arbitrariness with which the prisons function in Argentina, there must be many prisoners the government does not know about. We have to demand that such a list of prisoners be published as a means of safeguarding their lives. We know that thirty comrades murdered by the AAA [Alianza Anticomunista Argentina—Argentine Anticommunist Alliance] in Pilar were among the prisoners being held at the Coordinación Federal [Office of Federal Coordination], and that they were gunned down by the police.

Q. What do you think the international workers movement and its organizations should do about this situation?

A. The best thing we could say is what Correa and the others told us when we left: "Don't abandon us." This shows the confidence that political prisoners have in the international workers movement. All workers should join in the fight to win the release of those imprisoned. The demand must be raised that the government take responsibility for the lives of all prisoners.

Workers organizations must mobilize to win the release of all political prisoners and for them to be granted the right to leave the country.

Those not charged or facing trial should be able to leave Argentina immediately, as is their right according to the Constitution. They must be afforded the right of asylum.

that led to the 1971 split that resulted in the formation of the GOR.

He assumed all the tasks of our organization, from intervention in the workers movement to political elaboration to armed action. He represented the GOR at the Tenth World Congress of the Fourth International in January 1974. Arrested in August of the same year, he was tortured but refused to give out any information at all; he was imprisoned in Villa Devoto, Rawson, and La Plata prisons.

He always maintained a high revolutionary morale and participated in the political life of our organization to the utmost of his possibilities. The responsibility for the crime belongs to the prison authorities in La Plata and the military dictatorship.

We painfully dip our flag in homage to this murdered comrade, who joins the already long list of those who have fallen for the socialist revolution.

Rafael Lasala murdered by Videla dictatorship

The following statement was issued in Buenos Aires September 12 by the Political Bureau of the Grupo Obrero Revolucionario (GOR—Revolutionary Workers Group), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Argentina. We have taken the text from the November 25 issue of *Impresor*, a fortnightly news bulletin published by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

Our Argentine comrade Rafael Lasala ("Nestor"), a leader of the Grupo Obrero Revolucionario, was murdered in cold blood in the prison in La Plata August 29.

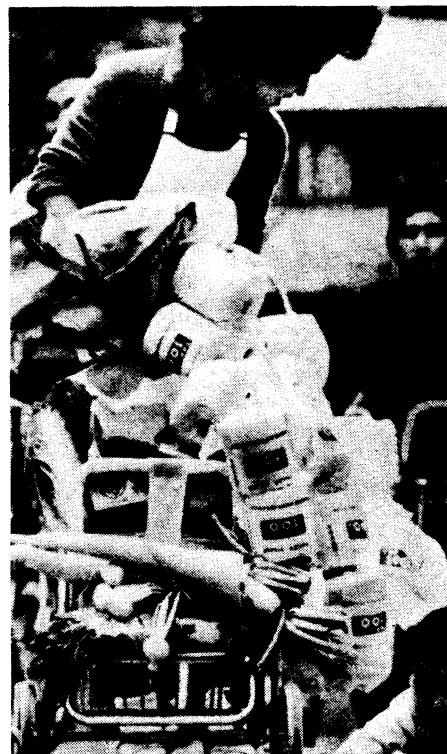
The authorities are trying to present this crime as a suicide, but the body given over to the family bears unmistakable marks of torture. After receiving various information, we are now in

Called for SP-CP vote

Where Trotskyists in Japan stood in recent election



Need for mass workers parties to take power has been made clearer and clearer by growing crisis of Japan's capitalist government. Resolution by Japanese Trotskyists points to three major causes of crisis (left to right): 'advance of Asian revolution'



(celebration of U.S. defeat in Vietnam); 'bankruptcy of economic boom' (hoarding of toilet paper in response to sudden shortages); and 'crisis of Liberal Democratic party rule' (demonstration protesting Lockheed scandal outside Diet).

[The following excerpts are from a statement that appeared in the November 22 issue of *Sekai Kakumei* (World Revolution), the weekly newspaper of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League (JRCL), Japanese section of the Fourth International. The translation and footnotes are by *Intercontinental Press*.]

* * *

In early November the Central Committee of the JRCL held its Sixth Plenum since the Eighth National Congress [in January 1976]. The plenum decided on the policy of calling for votes for candidates of the Socialist party or the Communist party in the elections to the House of Representatives, and decided to announce that decision in the following appeal to all working people. In the struggle taking place around the elections, we call for dealing a mortal blow to the Liberal Democratic party,¹ and we will carry on a determined fight to bring about the victory of the SP and CP, which are parties of the working class (even though their platforms are petty bourgeois). We call on all working people to join in this struggle.

To all working people of the country! The Japan Revolutionary Communist League (Japanese section of the Fourth International) calls for votes for the candidates of the Socialist party and Communist party in the present elections to the House of Representatives.

The previous lower house elections were held at the end of 1972. Four full years have passed since then. What kind of years were they?

The significance of those four years becomes abundantly clear if we point out a few historic events. First of all, the collapse of Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh City) on April 30, 1975, marked the victory of the Vietnamese revolution and the first defeat in history for American imperialism. With the Vietnamese revolution leading the way, the Asian revolution surged forward. In Timor, in Thailand, and in other countries the struggles of workers and peasants confronted imperialism and its puppets.

1. The LDP is by far the largest bourgeois party in Japan. It has held governmental power for over twenty years.

This advance of the Asian revolution will surely spread to the prison nation of South Korea, now ruled by the Park military dictatorship. Japanese imperialism backs the Park dictatorship, and together with U.S. imperialism has formed a Far Eastern alliance to save Park. The struggles of the workers and farmers of Japan and South Korea must increasingly confront this counterrevolutionary alliance. There can be no perspective of winning our struggles while avoiding that confrontation.

End of boom

Secondly, the history of rapid growth of the economy came to an end during the last four years.

Working people, four years ago you still held illusions in the economic

boom. The Tanaka government, with its "Plan to Restructure the Archipelago,"² was trying to perpetuate the boom. But world capitalism came upon an impasse, and all the contradictions of the boom period (such as pollution and uneven regional development) became explosive. The oil shock of autumn 1973 dealt a coup de grâce to the boom.

The lifespan of postwar Japanese capitalism was prolonged by the economic boom, and for that very reason the end of the boom created a crisis that has shaken Japanese capitalism to the core. The bourgeoisie responded first by attacking weak sectors of workers. They planned to shift the crisis onto the working class.

Liberal Democrats

Thirdly, we've seen the advancing crisis of the LDP's rule, a crisis whose tempo has increased from the money-power politics of Tanaka up to the present Lockheed scandal.

In the lower house elections of 1972, the LDP's vote total fell below 50 percent, and the party lost its formal majority under the bourgeois parliamentary system. The LDP was able to maintain its one-party rule only by increasing the number of Diet seats from rural areas (where it has its main base) and decreasing the number of seats from urban areas (where it has fallen into a distinct minority position). On the basis of this electoral setup, the LDP has barely managed to hold onto a majority. Now even that slim majority is endangered. The current elections will probably register even more clearly the crisis that the one-party rule of the LDP has fallen into.

Working people! The three focal points of the situation that we have summarized here—the advance of the Asian revolution, the bankruptcy of the economic boom of Japanese capitalism, and the crisis of the LDP's rule—can be summed up as the crisis of the capitalist LDP government.

The situation facing working people, the context in which workers' struggles take place, has changed

fundamentally in these past four years. Although in a restricted way, the present elections will express the consciousness of working people at this turning point.

Think back for a minute. Four years ago, the Japan Communist party was ecstatic about the big parliamentary gains they had made. They immediately started putting out propaganda as if a democratic coalition government³ would soon be formed. Since then, the CP has crystallized its legalistic, parliamentarian, and revisionist line. Having turned against the Buraku Liberation League, the CP joins hands with the bourgeoisie on the Buraku question.⁴

They have opposed strike struggles. Saying that workers in education "follow a sacred profession," and that local government workers are "servants of the people," the CP has rejected their strike struggles. By openly renouncing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the CP has gone further in its process of social-democratization.

During the period of rapid economic growth the CP also grew rapidly. That is, it swam with the reformist current of the boom era. Even now, with the boom at an end and reformism becoming nothing but betrayal, the CP goes on spreading reformist illusions among the working people. They are preparing a dangerous course that will lead the working people to defeat.

Working people! The Socialist party has been stabbing you in the back even more than the Communist party. In the crisis situation created by the Lockheed scandal, the SP completely failed to point the way for working people's struggles against the LDP. They obscured the power struggle within the LDP,⁵ and remained on friendly terms with the ruling party right up to the end of the Diet term. The SP capitulated without engaging in a single battle against the thoroughly corrupt LDP. And in the end they made deals to increase the

3. A "democratic coalition government" is the Communist party's term for any government that includes the CP.

4. The Buraku people are a minority of the Japanese population who have been victims of pervasive discrimination since feudal times.

LDP squeaks by

The Liberal-Democratic party (LDP) lost its long-standing parliamentary majority in Japan's December 5 elections. Only the affiliation of a small number of independent candidates will enable the LDP to maintain control of the parliament.

Japan's Socialist and Communist parties, however, failed to benefit from this setback for the LDP. They clearly failed to convince the workers that they offered a meaningful political alternative to the bankrupt leadership of the crisis-ridden LDP and other capitalist parties.

The CP dropped from third to a tie for last place in the number of seats in the lower house, while the SP gained only slightly.

The results of the lower house elections, as reported in the December 7 *New York Times*, follow. Figures in parentheses reflect the number of seats held in the previous house.

Liberal Democratic party	249 (265)
Socialist party	123 (112)
Communist party	17 (39)
Clean Government party	55 (30)
Democratic Socialist party	29 (19)
New Liberal Club	17 (5)
Independents	21 (0)

National Railway fares and telephone rates, and to force Korokyo⁶ into binding arbitration. This was nothing but an open betrayal of working people.

Working people! Remember the oil shock, the runaway prices, and even the "toilet paper panic"?⁷ When the economic crisis was destroying our standard of living, did the SP and CP call on the people to struggle?

Remember when Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped from a Tokyo hotel by Park's agents, or when Kim Chi Ha faced the threat of a death sentence, or when several South Korean youths were arrested and executed on charges of espionage?⁸ Did the SP and CP appeal to working people to join struggles to save the life of Kim Chi Ha, to rescue Kim Dae Jung, to call for the release of all political prisoners?

Or when the unprecedented Lockheed bribery scandal broke out, causing a crisis that brought the Miki LDP government to the verge of its downfall and imperiled the unity of the LDP itself, did the SP and CP call on working people to join in a struggle to bring down the LDP government?

'Coalition government'

Working people! You have suffered two successive defeats in the Spring Labor Offensive—not to mention the right-to-strike struggles—under the line of the SP and CP.⁹ And nevertheless the SP, the CP, and the bureaucracy of Sohyo¹⁰ are preparing to lead us into a third defeat with the same line in the 1977 Spring Labor Offensive. They refuse to admit that the end of the economic boom has made it absolutely impossible to win wage raises or defend our rights through the same methods of struggle as before.

They are joining hands with the Komei and Democratic Socialist parties¹¹—the reserve troops of the LDP and the bourgeoisie—in order to come in from the left to rescue the capitalists from the crisis of one-party rule by the LDP.

SP Chairman Narita has publicly announced his plan for a "coalition government of both conservative and reformist parties." In the context of the present crisis of the LDP's one-party rule, the LDP and the bourgeoisie are drawing the reformist workers parties toward a coalition government. They

5. During the summer of 1976, an intense struggle broke out between opposing factions of the LDP, leading to a reshuffling of posts in the Miki cabinet. In addition to posing the threat of a major split, the struggle further damaged the party's public image by focusing attention on the way it settles internal disputes, with wealthy power brokers playing a key role.

6. The major railway lines, the telephone system, and certain other industries of Japan's "public sector" are administered by the government, so the Diet must vote on price increases. The public-sector workers union Korokyo is prohibited by law from striking.

7. Japan experienced an inflation rate of more than 30 percent and shortages of many commodities in the wake of the rise in petroleum prices in 1973.

8. Former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung and poet Kim Chi Ha are political prisoners in South Korea.

9. Wage raises in new trade-union contracts were limited to less than 15 percent in 1975 and less than 10 percent in 1976.

10. The General Council of Trade Unions of Japan, the largest trade-union federation, affiliated with the SP.

11. The Komei (Clean Government) party is a petty-bourgeois party based on the Soka Gakkai Buddhist sect. The Democratic Socialist party emerged as a right-wing split from the SP in the late 1950s. Although it receives the endorsement of leaders of the right-wing trade-union federation Domei, its base of electoral support is among urban petty-bourgeois layers.

are squirming to avoid a head-on collision between the crisis of capitalism and the struggles of the working class.

A "conservative/reformist coalition" government would respect bourgeois rule and force the working class to surrender before the attacks of the bourgeoisie. But would it be able to rescue capitalism from its crisis through labor-management collaboration? No! The deeper the crisis of capitalism becomes, the more all the contradictions of capitalism will be forced onto working people through violent and authoritarian means.

For SP-CP vote

The only possible resolution of the crisis is a fundamental and revolutionary one. We can't break out of the crisis of capitalism by means of a "conservative/reformist" coalition nor through a popular front. That would only prepare the subsequent defeat of the working class.

Working people! We are calling for votes for the SP and CP in the elections to the lower house.

Voting for the SP and CP does not imply trusting them nor giving them a free hand. We assert the necessity of working people taking the real first step in the struggle. Working people at



TAKEO MIKI

present lack a correct revolutionary leadership. We are challenging the established leaders, we are candidates for the leadership of the working class. But are working people to be made to "wait" until a correct revolutionary leadership has been constructed? The class struggle does not permit that.

In order that working people may begin the struggle, this is what we should demand of the SP and CP:

For a thorough prosecution of the Lockheed and South Korean bribery cases¹² by the hand of the people!

For direct action by working people in the struggle to defend our standard of living.

Bring down the entire capitalist LDP government!

Establish a workers and farmers government!

Establish a workers united front to unite working people in struggle!

Calling for working people to vote for the SP or CP is not for the purpose of increasing seats in the Diet and forming a government there. It is a signal for working people's struggles.

Down with the LDP government!

Down with the whole capitalist LDP government!

Against a "conservative/reformist" coalition government!

The SP and CP must form a workers and farmers government based on a workers united front!

12. It has recently been disclosed that South Korean businessman Park Tong Sun, whose lavish "gifts" to American congressmen are at present under investigation, was also involved in dealings in Japan. The extent and details of those dealings remain unclear.

World news notes

Spanish Social Democrats' Congress

The Spanish Socialist Workers party opened its first legal congress in Spain in forty-four years December 5. Several thousand delegates and guests at the Madrid meeting heard greetings from former Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme and former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt.

Other Social Democratic leaders at the congress included Carlos Altamirano, the exiled head of the Chilean Socialist party; Michael Foot, deputy leader of the British Labour party; and François Mitterrand, the head of the French Socialist party.

Marcos ups price for U.S. bases

State Department officials announced December 3 that tentative agreement had been reached on a new military and economic aid pact with the Philippine regime. The deal, negotiated by Henry Kissinger and Philippine Foreign Minister Carlos Romulo, would have doubled American aid to the Marcos dictatorship over the next five years in return for continued use of military bases in the Philippines.

However, on December 4 Marcos rejected the \$1 billion deal. He was reportedly dissatisfied with the \$500 million military aid commitment in the package.

Two of the largest American bases in the world—Clark Air Base and the Subic Bay Naval Base—are in the Philippines. Both bases were used extensively during the Vietnam War.

Washington frequently ties its military and economic aid programs aimed at propping up repressive regimes to the purchase of military base rights. This was the case with the recent accords signed by the Ford administration with the governments of Spain and Turkey. American military bases in those countries were retained at the cost of a \$1.2 billion, five-year accord with Spain, and a \$1 billion, four-year accord with Turkey.

Tourists skip Rhodesia this year

Only 8,500 visitors vacationed in Rhodesia this September, officials of the white-minority government there complain, compared to almost double that number twelve months earlier. It is expected that this year will be the worst one for the tourist trade since the racist regime in Rhodesia declared its independence from Britain in 1965.

Indonesia reports release of 2,650 prisoners

The Indonesian government said December 1 that it had released 2,650 political prisoners who had been jailed following the overthrow of the Sukarno regime in 1965. A group of 150 prisoners were freed at a public ceremony in which they were required to swear allegiance to the government and renounce Communist beliefs. According to the Jakarta regime, 29,000 persons jailed in 1965 are still being held. It has promised to free the remaining prisoners within three years.

Mandel Canadian trip barred

On November 23, the U.S. State Department prevented Ernest Mandel from going to Québec to give a series of lectures.

Mandel, a Belgian citizen, is an internationally known economist and a leader of the Fourth International. He was en route to Montréal from a previous lecture tour in Colombia. His plane stopped in Miami. Because of the way the air routes are organized, it is difficult, if not impossible, to reach Canada from Latin America without stopping in the United States.

When he arrived in the American airport, Mandel found that the right of transit he previously enjoyed had been withdrawn. He was unable to continue his trip. Mandel had been denied a visa to the United States because of his socialist views. But even this McCarthyite logic could not justify refusing him the right of transit.

This latest action by Washington not only violated the democratic rights of Americans to have access to all views. It in fact violated the sovereignty of both Colombia and Canada, since a denial of the right of transit through U.S. airports effectively limits the right of persons to travel to those countries.

Although jealous of its sovereignty in other matters, the Ottawa government is not likely to protest this action by Washington, unless it is forced to by public pressure.

The case of Ernest Mandel shows how urgent it is for all those concerned about democracy to speak out now to stop the American and Canadian political police from conspiring to make the world into a prison divided into national cellblocks.

'Times' hails Hua's new post

The announcement that Peking's ambassador to the United Nations, Huang Hua, has been appointed as China's new foreign minister was greeted with undisguised satisfaction by the editors of the *New York Times*, who explained why in a December 5 editorial.

"Much of the attention Mr. Huang has won at the United Nations in recent years has derived from his vigorous debates with Soviet representatives and his attacks on Soviet policy. His appointment will therefore be seen as another signal that Peking expects no fundamental changes in its relation with Moscow . . .," the editorial said.

The *Times* editors further advised that ". . . Peking needs friends whose possession of the most modern military equipment can help discourage any adventurist ideas in Moscow. Coming from his service in New York, Mr. Huang would seem ideally suited for the task of cultivating these friends here and elsewhere in the West."

The editors of the *Christian Science Monitor* also hailed the appointment December 6, calling it "a step likely to receive a cordial welcome in Western capitals, including Washington."

Mexico: peasant land occupations shatter myth of stability

[The following account of the struggles by Mexican peasants to break the grip of the big landholders is a major excerpt from a longer article by Cristina Rivas published in the December 13 *Intercontinental Press*.

[The article analyzed the impact of the October 27 decision by the Mexican government to devalue the peso for a second time. It also described the deepening political crisis confronting newly elected Mexican President José López Portillo. Portillo was sworn in on December 1.

[Rivas explained that devaluation of the peso has set off a wave of price increases. These have wiped out the inadequate wage increase granted to some Mexican workers.

[This squeeze on working people has created new openness to proposals by revolutionary socialists that the trade unions break their traditional alliance with Mexico's ruling capitalist party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI—Institutional Revolutionary party).

[The growing disarray of the economy has also shaken the confidence of Mexico's capitalist class. Rivas cited reports that the flight of Mexican capital to the United States has reached "floodgate levels."

[Paralleling this economic crisis is an equally deep political crisis. The PRI was not able to use the recent election to overcome its growing isolation. Increasingly, the government has resorted to repression and crackdowns on democratic rights—including increased use of the army to intervene in workers' and students' struggles.

[It is in this context that the peasants' struggles described below are unfolding. These struggles are a major element in Mexico's deepening political crisis.]

By Cristina Rivas

MEXICO CITY—The hottest spot in Mexico at present is in the countryside. The capitalist agrarian reform carried out by Lázaro Cárdenas is completely bankrupt, because the number of real *ejidatarios** has been declining precipitously and the agricultural proletariat has increased to the same extent. Currently, the majority of the Mexican peasantry is landless. But at the same time, there is little work in the countryside and the wages are very low. Poverty and starvation are the main plagues of the Mexican countryside.

Under these circumstances it is not at all surprising that the rural areas are a veritable powder keg. And one part of that powder keg exploded in the most important agricultural zone of the country, the one where the tie to North American agribusiness is most direct—the states of Sonora and Sinaloa in the northwest of Mexico.

The events in Sonora and Sinaloa are not isolated. All over the republic peasants have been occupying land. In all cases the army came to defend the

*. The *ejido* is a type of landholding in which a certain number of peasants receive several hectares to work. They are not owners of the land and cannot sell it. But they can pass it on to their heirs or rent it out.

big landowner's property. Sometimes the peasants resisted. There have been many who were killed, wounded, jailed, or who have "disappeared."

But there is one peculiarity about Sonora and Sinaloa—agriculture there is highly industrialized. Moreover, the peasants of the zone have a tradition of struggle that dates from the days when the Indians fought against the Spanish invaders.

NACLA's Latin American & Empire Report described the situation of the peasants in Sonora and Sinaloa in its July-August 1976 issue:

In Sinaloa, where the development of corporate farming has grown more quickly than elsewhere, the number of farm workers doubled between 1960 and 1970—from 66,000 to 126,000.

The majority of these workers are permanent members of the proletariat. . . . But an important percentage of the rural workforce, approximately 40% in Sinaloa, is still made up of *ejidatarios* whose plots of land either produce less than they need for survival or are rented out to large landowners. . . .

In Sonora, about 70% of the ejidos are rented, especially in the irrigated areas of Navajoa and the Valle del Yaqui, while estimates for the percentage of rented ejidos in Sinaloa range between 40% and 80%.

Agribusiness

The big landholders who "rent" the *ejidos* of the richest land in Mexico are some eighty multimillionaire families closely linked to North American agribusiness.

About 75 percent of the tomatoes exported by Mexico and 80 percent of the grain produced are grown on those lands. Many of the winter vegetables consumed in the United States are also grown there.

In addition to their economic strength, these landholders are very well organized to defend their interests. They have gangs of gunfighters and assassins working for them.

Clave, the fortnightly newspaper that reflects the viewpoint of the Liga Socialista (Bolchevique Leninista) [Socialist League (Bolshevik Leninist)], described the structure of these big landholdings in its November 15-27 issue:

In Sonora the land appears to be owned by small landholders, who [according to the constitution] should not have more than fifty hectares since the land is in the irrigated district. But that is only the appearance. In reality these are large landholdings disguised as smallholdings—family estates registered in the name of even recently born children when they aren't registered in borrowed names.

Clave also noted that the peasants' struggle against such "small landholders"—as the concealed big landowners call themselves—"is not new, since these invasions have been going on for about a year. They were momentarily stopped by the killing of 'invading peasants,' which took place October 24 in San Ignacio Río Muerto. . . ."

Last December, after that massacre, the big landowners made a show of force when the government tried to give out some of their lands to quiet down the peasants' struggle.

At that time, the landholders paralyzed production.

In 1975 Echeverría succeeded in alleviating the situation without giving



Peasants stand guard over land seized from wealthy owners. 'Capitalism can survive only by taking away their bread, land, work, and—at times—their very lives.'

ing land to the peasants, by creating a commission that was to take charge of "solving" the problem. Of course, the commission decided that the lands would remain in the hands of the big landowners.

Throughout 1976 the situation continued to be very unstable, as could be expected. In February, the peasants once again occupied some of the lands that had been taken from them. By April, 25,000 acres were occupied and the struggle continued to spread.

At the beginning of September, Félix Barra García, the PRI secretary for agrarian reform, reported that the president had reversed his orders: in the two months remaining of his rule, big landholdings in Sonora, Sinaloa, and other states were to be liquidated.

After almost thirty years of waiting in vain for the government to turn over to them what is theirs, the peasants decided that this was their chance. Land occupations spread rapidly, mainly in the holdings that the president himself had mentioned.

By the beginning of November, the peasants had invaded thousands of hectares. They told the press that this time "not even God the Father" would drive them out. Even the government-controlled peasant organizations, which a few days earlier had said that the occupations were "counterrevolutionary actions," had to give in, since it would obviously be preferable—if possible—for them to lead the peasants. The Confederación Nacional de Campesinos [CNC—National Confederation of Peasants] and the Unión General de Obreros y Campesinos Mexicanos [UGOCM—General Union of Mexican Workers and Peasants] began to demand the expropriation of the big landholdings.

Peasant protest

Even the limited land distribution finally approved by Echeverría was overturned in a December 7 ruling by a Mexican federal judge. The ruling was made six days after José López Portillo took office.

On December 13, two days after the ruling was made public, peasant leaders announced plans for a 1,000-mile mass march and bus caravan from Sinaloa to Mexico City. The march will protest the judge's ruling, which would oust 8,000 peasants from nearly 2.5 million acres of land they have occupied in Sonora state.

Finally, on November 19, Echeverría announced the expropriation of 247,000 acres of land (the property of seventy-four families). But before the land could be really turned over to the peasants, the big landowners responded vigorously.

This year they went beyond what they had done in 1975. On November 24 they organized an employers' work stoppage that affected, to one degree or another, fifty of the country's cities. The merchants and some businessmen's organizations supported them ecstatically.

Maneuvers

In face of the offensive by the landowners, the government began to retreat.

The final arrangement, made November 26, was that "the two sides accepted" a proposal from the landowners to distribute 32,000 acres of land to the peasants. That is a joke, since there are about 10,000 peasants waiting for land and the original proposal of the landowners (prior to November 23) was that 49,000 acres would be given out. This step will only exacerbate the situation, because it is obvious that the peasants will demand more land and will be more and more unwilling to abandon the land in return for promises.

In fact, even at present there are groups of peasants who refuse to leave the lands that they had been told were theirs. The new maneuvers open the way for the masses to go beyond the limits the government is trying to impose on them, and this is a danger of the first magnitude for the regime. The government is discussing the conflict between its economic need to stimulate capitalist production in the countryside and the political need to maintain, if only at the formal level, the *ejido* of the peasants.

The devaluation of the peso, the rumors of a coup, Echeverría's dia-tribes, the land occupations by the peasants, and the bosses' work stoppage and hysterical propaganda created an atmosphere of panic throughout Mexico. The myth of the economic and political stability of Mexico has been smashed to bits.

Some people think that changing López Portillo for Echeverría will resolve the situation. This is not so. No bourgeois president will be able to solve Mexico's problems. Capitalism can survive only by taking away from the Mexican workers and peasants their bread, land, work, and—at times—their very lives.

Continued from back page

Marxist Economic Theory; and Socialism on Trial.

Nan Bailey came to Mt. Pleasant December 9 to investigate the victimization of the three YSA members and to discuss plans for launching a national defense campaign. She discussed the case with leaders of the Organization of Black Unity, the campus newspaper, and the Committee for Free Speech.

The Committee for Free Speech was formed shortly after the arrest to demand that all charges be dropped.

Bailey attended a public forum called by the CMU Department of Public Safety—the campus cops—to hear student criticisms. DPS cops are the ones who arrested the socialist campaigners. So it was no surprise that the YSA arrest was the major topic.

"The arrest of the campaign workers represents a major attack on free speech and academic freedom," stated Meg Hayes, secretary of the Committee for Free Speech.

Bailey distributed a statement at the meeting charging that the socialists were targeted because of their ideas.

"The administration seems to have one set of rules to harass socialists," she said, "and a totally different set of rules when it comes to campaign activities of the Democratic and Republican parties."

A week before the YSA members' arrest, for example, Republican congressional candidate John Engler distributed campaign material on campus. When the administration told him he needed permission, Engler disregarded the rule. CMU administrators decided to overlook this.

"...Smith, Douglas, and Garrison were treated like criminals for campaigning for the SWP candidates, while Engler got the OK to break the university's arbitrary and unconstitutional rules," Bailey said.

Charles House, executive assistant to the president at CMU, jumped to his feet to respond. He claimed that Engler was only distributing literature, while socialists were also selling it.

But this attempt to differentiate between distributing and selling political material is unconstitutional. Past court rulings have struck down that distinction.

University President Harold Abel let the real issue slip out when he spoke to the campus newspaper. Abel said campus administrators "felt obliged to make a stand" when the socialists took their literature into Warriner Hall, the scene of the arrest.

"If we wouldn't have stopped them here, just how far would it have gone? Into the classrooms like in the '60's?" Abel said.

Many students and faculty have seen through the

administration's phony arguments. Twenty-seven attended a planning meeting for the Committee for Free Speech the evening of December 9.

The committee learned that the pretrial hearing in the socialists' case will be January 20. Ron Reosti, a noted Detroit civil liberties attorney, will defend the YSA members.

The committee discussed plans to hold a larger meeting on campus the night before the hearing. The following day picketers will demonstrate outside the courthouse to demand, "Drop the charges."

The group also discussed holding a civil liberties

rally on campus shortly after the school session resumes in late January.

The committee agreed to launch a national campaign to flood President Abel's office with protest telegrams during the Christmas break.

Telegrams should be sent to CMU President Harold Abel, Warriner Hall, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

Contributions to help cover legal costs and publicity expenses should be sent to the Committee for Free Speech, Room 143, Anspach Hall, Central Michigan University, Mount Pleasant, Michigan 48858.

YSA plans nationwide defense

The National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance released the following statement December 15.

The victimization of three members of the Young Socialist Alliance in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan, poses a grave threat to free speech.

On October 20 the three students—Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith—were arrested at Central Michigan University on trumped-up charges of criminal trespass and occupying a university building by force. If convicted, each faces a maximum penalty of six months in jail and a \$1,650 fine.

The only "crime" these three YSA members committed was distributing socialist literature outside a campus meeting.

This attempt to put socialists behind bars for their ideas is one of the most serious attacks on campus political rights in recent years. If successful, it would set a dangerous precedent. It would embolden university officials throughout the country to escalate their attacks on student rights and academic freedom.

A national defense effort is needed to counter this attack.

The CMU administration's actions are aimed at suppressing socialist ideas and driving the YSA off campus. CMU President Harold Abel seems to think that campuses are exempt from the Bill of Rights. He does not want socialists to express their views on campus. And he does not want other students to be able to hear those views.

The arrests at CMU fit into a national effort by government and university officials to restrict political rights. In June 1970—one month after the massive student strike against the Vietnam War—Washington passed new guidelines severely restricting campus political activity.

Taking this cue, state governments and university administrators passed similar laws and regulations. In fact, one of the laws the socialists are accused of violating in Mt. Pleasant is a 1970 "antiriot" statute that makes violation of university regulations a crime under Michigan state laws.

These undemocratic laws and regulations are clearly unconstitutional.

Young Socialist Alliance members throughout the country are launching a nationwide defense effort to force the CMU administration to drop all charges against Douglas, Garrison, and Smith. This campaign can help spearhead the fight for political rights on all campuses.

Student activists and others in the academic community have a special stake in this fight against campus "thought control."

But this defense effort should also be the concern of trade unionists fighting for the right to strike and bargain collectively; of Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans fighting for the right to an equal education and job opportunities; of women demanding passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and a halt to attacks on abortion rights.

Defending the three YSA members should be the cause of everyone fighting for justice and equality.

The Committee for Free Speech is a nonpartisan group launched in Mt. Pleasant to publicize and raise funds for this important case. It is asking prominent individuals throughout the country to endorse its efforts and to show their support for the right of socialists and other students to freely express their ideas.

The committee is asking that telegrams be sent to CMU President Howard Abel protesting the arrests and demanding:

Drop the charges against Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith!

...Blacks boycott South Carolina schools

Continued from back page

election day," he said.

Besides Stokes, the students are demanding that county School Supt. H. Thad Ott and St. John High School principal Walter Funderburk be dismissed.

There have also been complaints against a white athletic coach's treatment of Black students. Other complaints have been lodged against the county's hiring practices for the schools.

"For white people, it's who you know," said Harriet Glover, who stood in her dirt driveway while two cats

licked themselves and romped behind her.

"Some of them have relatives who work for the county who get them jobs," she submitted. This sort of patronage, she says, doesn't happen with Blacks.

The county has also hired white instructors who lack college degrees. All of these problems have contributed to the state's recent decertifying of St. Matthews High.

"The school has lost its accreditation," said parents' leader Oscar Means. "The school has gone on probation. Instead of going up we're

going down. Our education is declining."

Means, who runs a package liquor store, is a central leader of the struggle here. Concern about the education of Black youth comes natural to him. He has been a teacher, and he was a New York resident and participant in Brooklyn's 1968 Ocean Hill-Brownsville community-control struggle. Means likens that effort to win Black control over the education of Black students to the struggle in Calhoun County.

Since the walkout began, Blacks have held two protest demonstrations. The first one drew 300. The second one brought out close to 2,000 people from across the county and other parts of the state, according to Means.

The protesters marched five abreast between the high school and the county building to demand the removal of the administrators.

Blacks make up about two-thirds of the town and county. Twenty-five hundred people live in St. Matthews.

The five-week-old boycott has been big news in this county. Not since young Billy Johnson drank too much one night four months ago and drove his red Charger up a tree has there been so much to talk about.

"Well, this has really put Calhoun County on the map," a man ribbed with a New York reporter who had come down to do a story.

Since the students have been boycot-

ting, about eighty of the seniors have been doing makeshift studying at the Masonic Hall. College students from nearby Orangeburg have been coming in and helping them with their work. But other St. Matthews students, parents admit with a shake of the head, aren't showing up at the hall and are just glad to be out of school.

Although the protest is centered on the schools, Blacks report other racial problems.

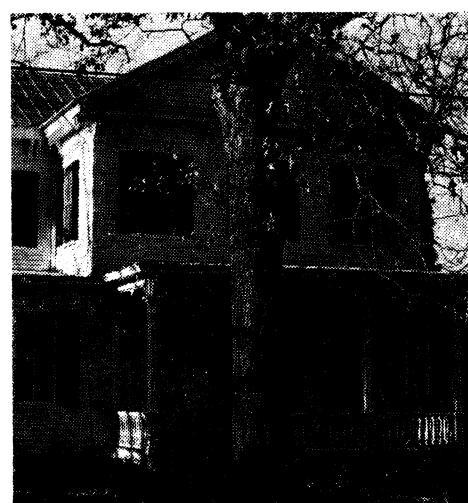
A federal labor investigator was here recently looking into charges of employment bias that has locked Blacks into janitorial and field work.

Young Blacks report that employment opportunities are skimpy. Many are forced to move to Columbia for jobs or go on relief.

Housing for Blacks can mean a two- or three-room wooden shack raised off the ground by bricks. Pieces of cellophane get tacked over the windows to keep out chill winds. Hens cluck in the yard.

White-owned homes are sometimes big colonials with fluted white pillars, and magnolia trees on the grounds.

"This is not Rhodesia," Means was saying now in his liquor store. "I keep telling them this is not Rhodesia. There's supposed to be majority rule here. If something's wrong, the majority's supposed to be able to change it. The children believe that. That's why they'll stay out until this thing is resolved."



Besides discriminatory treatment in schools, Blacks suffer unequal housing conditions, as seen in Black dwelling and white-owned home.

LEON TROTSKY ON CHINA

Introduction by Peng Shu-tse

Leon Trotsky on China. *Introduction by Peng Shu-tse*. New York: Monad Press, distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. 688 pp. \$6.95; cloth \$22.00.

By Fred Feldman

Leon Trotsky on China is a comprehensive collection of Trotsky's writings on one of the great revolutionary upheavals of the twentieth century. It is indispensable for all who wish to study the Chinese revolution, the nature of the Chinese Communist party, and the conditions under which the Stalinist leadership headed by Mao developed its program and methods of rule.

An introduction by the veteran Chinese revolutionist Peng Shu-tse sheds new light on the early years of the Chinese Communist party, of which Peng was a founding member.

Leon Trotsky on China brings the evolution of Trotsky's views on the revolution of 1925-27 into sharper focus. It provides the reader with a rounded

Books

picture of Trotsky's views on the peasant "Red Armies" and "soviets" initiated by the Chinese Communist party after the crushing of the second Chinese revolution by Chiang Kai-shek. Materials on the Sino-Japanese War illustrate Trotsky's support for the struggle against Japanese imperialism and his opposition to the popular frontism practiced by the Chinese CP during the war.

The book is thus a guide to revolutionary strategy and tactics as developed and defended in the course of great revolutionary events and in opposition to the disastrous course followed by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The first Chinese revolution of 1911 overthrew the Manchu emperor. Led by Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang, it soon declined; and China fell under the domination of regional military dictators called warlords.

The second Chinese revolution, to which half of this book is devoted, broke out in May 1925, when British troops fired on a crowd of protesting workers and students in Shanghai. The upsurge spread rapidly, with general strikes and boycotts of foreign goods spreading to Canton and Hong Kong. Trade unions burgeoned while peasant leagues comprising millions of members appeared in the countryside to challenge the domination of the landlords.

The Russian revolution had vast prestige in China, and even many reactionaries felt compelled to identify themselves with the Soviet Union to retain credibility with the masses. The young Communist party was thus in an unusually good position to rapidly become a mass party capable of leading the workers and peasants against their oppressors.

Trotsky demonstrates irrefutably that this revolutionary situation was betrayed by Stalin, who was then consolidating his bureaucratic grip in the Soviet Union. The policies that destroyed the second Chinese revolution were not the "errors" of local leaders, as Maoist admirers of Stalin are wont to argue, but were imposed by the Kremlin.

Over Trotsky's opposition, the CCP had been compelled to join the bourgeois Kuomintang in 1923. When the revolution broke out, Stalin insisted that the CP remain in the Kuomintang at whatever cost.

The policy of supporting the Kuomintang led Stalin to oppose forming soviets and arming the workers. With similar logic, Stalin called for restrictions on workers' strikes and peasant struggles for land. Trotsky called for the creation of soviets with the aim of broadening and coordinating the workers and peasants movements, and drawing into action the rank-and-file soldiers of the Kuomintang and warlord armies.

To stress his confidence in the Kuomintang, Stalin had it admitted to the Communist International as a sympathizing party.

These opposed lines were decisively tested in Shanghai, where workers rose up in March 1927 to throw off the domination of the local warlord and establish their own government, predominantly Communist in composition. As Chiang's armies approached, Trotsky insistently warned that the Kuomintang leader would seek to smash the workers movement. Stalin, on the other hand, ordered the CCP to turn the government over to Chiang and to welcome his troops to the city. The result was a bloody massacre of workers and peasants that rapidly spread to other parts of China.

Instead of correcting his mistake and breaking with the Kuomintang, Stalin ordered the CP to switch its allegiance from Chiang Kai-shek to another faction of the Kuomintang, headed by Wang Ching-wei. As Trotsky had warned, Wang soon turned on the CCP, carrying out massacres modeled on those perpetrated by Chiang.

Peng Shu-tse explains in his introduction how the Chinese Communists were blocked from objectively considering Trotsky's criticisms and proposals. The whole apparatus of the Comintern was thrown into the task of suppressing and misrepresenting them.

Maoist mythology today places full blame for the errors of those days on the "counterrevolutionary line" of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the founder of the Chinese Communist party. Peng demonstrates that Stalin repeatedly overrode the objections of Chinese CP leaders like Ch'en, who had grave doubts about Stalin's line, and Peng, who opposed it. One CCP leader who accepted Stalin's line with enthusiasm was Mao Tsetung.

The materials collected in *Leon Trotsky on China* provide a grim record of the methods Stalin used to preserve the aura of infallibility after the defeat of the revolution. Instead of patiently seeking to rebuild the party and its base in the working class, Stalin ordered immediate insurrections in an effort to recoup his losses. When this led only to new massacres, Stalin converted the critics of his line into scapegoats for the failure of his policies. Leaders like Peng Shu-tse and Ch'en Tu-hsiu, who now agreed with Trotsky and sought to frankly criticize Stalinist policies, were ruthlessly driven out. It became impossible to oppose Stalinist policies inside the CP.

These sections of the book make enlightening but painful reading. The policies that ruined the Chinese revolution of 1925-27 were the first effort by the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union to attain its ends through class collaboration. Although this strategy was at first presented as applicable only to colonial lands, it eventually became the basic Stalinist policy in the whole capitalist world. The concepts Stalin put forward at this time—such as the "two-stage theory of revolution" and the "bloc of four classes"—have characterized Stalinists of all varieties ever since.

The Chinese revolution was also a watershed in the development of Trotskyism. Having begun as opponents of the bureaucratization of the government apparatus in the Soviet Union, the Left Oppositionists were compelled to defend the most

basic programmatic concepts of Marxism, such as working-class independence from the bourgeoisie.

Nearly half of the book is devoted to problems of revolutionary strategy and tactics in the decade that followed the defeat of the second Chinese revolution.

The Chinese Communist party—purged of all critics of Stalinist class-collaboration and stripped of its once-powerful base of support in the working class—now turned to peasant war as a method of preserving itself and fighting Chiang Kai-shek. This turn was eventually given after-the-fact theoretical justification in the concept of "people's war" developed by Mao and Lin Piao.

Trotsky was unyielding in his opposition to this shift on the part of the Chinese CP. He wrote:

At this juncture the Chinese Communists need a long-range policy. They must not scatter their forces among the isolated flames of the peasant revolt. Weak and small in number, the party will not be able to take hold of this movement. The communists must concentrate their forces in the factories and the shops and in the workers' districts in order to explain to the workers the meaning of what is happening in the provinces. . . . Only through the process of activating and uniting the workers will the Communist Party be able to assume leadership of the peasant insurrection, that is, of the national revolution as a whole. [Manifesto on China of the International Left Opposition," p. 481.]

Trotsky stressed in particular the potential role of democratic demands in reviving the workers' movement and linking it to the peasant struggle:

The struggle against the military dictatorship must inevitably assume the form of *transitional revolutionary democratic demands*, leading to the demand for a Chinese constituent assembly on the basis of universal direct, equal, and secret voting, for the solution of the most important problems facing the country: the introduction of the eight-hour day, the confiscation of the land, and the securing of national independence for China. . . .

If the communists stand back, the revival of political struggle will go to the benefit of petty-bourgeois democracy, and it is possible to predict in advance that the present Chinese Stalinists will follow in its wake, giving the democratic slogans not a revolutionary, but a conciliatory interpretation. ["The Political Situation in China," p. 407.]

Trotsky held that the strategy he proposed would make it possible for the Communist party to "emerge, not as the technical guide of the Chinese peasantry, but as the political leader of the working class of the entire country" ("What Is Happening in the Chinese Communist Party?" p. 513).

Peasant war

These views, stated and reiterated by Trotsky throughout the years following 1927, probably constitute the most controversial aspects of *Leon Trotsky on China*. The perspicacity of Trotsky's criticisms of the policies followed by the CCP in 1925-27 has been widely recognized, and is sometimes conceded even by the more open-minded votaries of the Mao cult.

The reception accorded Trotsky's later views has been rather different. Many assume that the CCP's success in taking power in 1949 at the head of a peasant army and later overturning capitalism proved the correctness of basing a revolutionary strategy in China on the peasants rather than the workers. Still others draw the further conclusion that the Chinese revolution demonstrated that the peasantry is the fundamental revolutionary force in colonial and neocolonial lands where peasants constitute a majority of the population.

A closer examination both of Trotsky's analysis of the role of the Chinese peasantry and the CP, and of the course of the Chinese revolution after 1927, demonstrates that it is a mistake to dismiss Trotsky's views on the grounds that he failed to predict Mao's military victory and its aftermath. Although Trotsky did not expect the peasant war to achieve the successes it did in the absence of massive working-class struggles, his observations point the way to understanding the course and outcome of the third Chinese revolution.

Trotsky denied that the peasants could lead a struggle for the creation of a workers state, which was indispensable if landlordism and foreign



PENG SHU-TSE



Mao (left) and Stalin (right) collaborated in attempting to preserve capitalist property relations in China.

domination were to be eliminated. In "Peasant War in China and the Proletariat," he wrote:

The worker approaches questions from the socialist standpoint; the peasant's viewpoint is petty bourgeois. The worker strives to socialize the property that is taken away from the exploiters; the peasant seeks to divide it up. The worker desires to put palaces and parks to common use; the peasant, insofar as he cannot divide them, inclines to burning the palaces and cutting down the parks. The worker strives to solve problems on a national scale and in accordance with a plan; the peasant, on the other hand, approaches all problems on a local scale and takes a hostile attitude to centralized planning, etc.

It is understood that a peasant also is capable of raising himself to the socialist viewpoint. Under a proletarian regime more and more masses of peasants become reeducated in the socialist spirit. But this requires time, years, even decades. [p. 524.]

Trotsky's analysis helps to pinpoint the social basis of Mao's program. During the long and arduous civil war, the Chinese peasantry never initiated or led a struggle directed at the overthrow of capitalism. It fought for land and national independence.

The leadership of the peasant movement, the CCP, continued to hold to the two-stage theory of revolution and the "bloc of four classes," which restricted the struggle to bourgeois objectives.

After the so-called Third Period, in which Stalin followed an ultraleft course, Mao used the peasant contingents under his command as bargaining chips in his search for an alliance with Chiang Kai-shek and other bourgeois forces. These, and not the Chinese workers, were the urban allies he sought. Even during the final years of the civil war, when Chiang's regime came to pieces at the seams, Mao adamantly denied any intention of overthrowing capitalism.

Trotsky's realistic view of the nature and goals of the peasant struggle did not prevent him from fully supporting it. In a letter to the Chinese Oppositionists on August 22, 1930, he stated:

... we must devise a means to raise the workers' spirits through these insurrections. At the same time, we must visibly support the insurrectionists in their demands and programs, while opposing the landlords, officials, and bourgeoisie in their rumors, slanders, and repression. It is upon this foundation, and only this foundation, that we can expose the tricks of the Comintern organizations. [p. 440.]

Trotsky did not exclude the possibility that the Stalinist-led peasant fighters might win a military victory, bringing their commanders to political power. He warned, however, that a regime established in this way could not solve China's fundamental problems—even if it carried out a radical agrarian reform. On the contrary, he predicted that it might come into conflict with the Chinese workers.

Kuomintang defeat

The actual course of the CCP in the following years strikingly confirmed Trotsky's analysis. The CCP's peasant "soviet" were crushed by Chiang's forces, forcing the CCP to undertake the epic 6,600-mile Long March with Chiang's army in hot pursuit. The survivors were saved from destruction when some of Chiang's warlord allies, favoring an alliance with the CCP and the Soviet Union against the Japanese, kidnapped Chiang and compelled him to negotiate with the CCP.

In 1937, the CCP formed an "Anti-Japanese United Front" with Chiang Kai-shek. The "soviet" governments were formally dissolved, land reform was halted, the Kuomintang program was endorsed as the embodiment of the bourgeois "stage," and Chiang Kai-shek was recognized as the leader of the national struggle against Japanese imperialism. Chiang was formally recognized as the commander of the peasant armies (no longer called "Red"), although they retained their own hierarchy. While Trotsky favored united action with the Kuomintang to fight the Japanese invaders, he denounced the

popular front between the CCP and Chiang as a betrayal of the Chinese masses. As Peng Shu-tse points out, Trotsky considered this point so important that he included it in the Transitional Program, the founding programmatic document of the Fourth International.

After the Second World War, Mao's efforts to form a coalition government headed by Chiang failed. Under heavy attack by Kuomintang forces, the CCP was compelled for reasons of self-preservation to launch a fight to the finish against Chiang and to countenance a sweeping agrarian revolution.

Chiang's regime, discredited by its failure to wage a real fight against Japanese imperialism, disintegrated rapidly while U.S. imperialism was unable to come to its aid effectively. Under these conditions the CCP armies defeated Chiang's forces and marched into the cities, installing the Mao leadership in power.

Although with some delays and hesitations, the regime continued and even deepened the agrarian reform. Its policy toward the urban workers followed a different course. The CCP sought to form a coalition government, not with representatives chosen by the workers, but with the remnants of the bourgeois parties. Mao promised to retain capitalist property relations for decades.

The regime banned strikes and all other forms of independent working-class expression. The Trotskyists, who had devoted themselves to building a revolutionary workers party in the cities after the Stalinists turned to the peasantry, were arrested and imprisoned without charges or trial. The conflict with the working class that Trotsky predicted might happen took place, although in an attenuated form owing to the lack of a massive organized working-class movement.

When the U.S. invaded Korea and threatened China with a direct military assault, the Chinese bourgeoisie took heart and began to actively sabotage the new regime, making maximum use of its still powerful positions in the economy. The half-measures adopted by Mao had proved incapable of solving China's economic problems, which required not only political independence and agrarian reform but a planned economy. The CCP's attempt to create a "new democratic" regime had arrived at the "blind alley" Trotsky predicted.

Like the Stalinists in Soviet-occupied Eastern Europe and Yugoslavia, the CCP broke out of the impasse by calling for the overthrow of capitalist property relations. Under the circumstances created by the Soviet victory in World War II and the weakness of the national bourgeoisie, the CCP was able to go further than Trotsky had thought possible for such a regime.

Mao found himself obliged to mobilize the urban workers against their employers—a course he had bitterly opposed during the preceding decades. The example of Eastern Europe had shown Mao that such mobilizations could be carried out without producing a direct challenge to the bureaucratic tops, provided they were tightly controlled, and no revolutionary party rooted among the workers existed as a pole of attraction.

Rise of workers' struggles

The overturn of capitalism represented a fundamental turning point for the Chinese revolution, one in which the cities and the working class began once again to demonstrate their dominant social role. Without this development, neither the military victory of Mao's armies nor the agrarian reform would have been enough to guarantee the victory of the third Chinese revolution.

The Maoist leadership took shape as the political and military command of a peasant army. On taking power in the whole country, they accorded themselves privileges in line with what they viewed as their rank and responsibilities. With the transformation of the economy, this layer now became the privileged bureaucratic caste of a workers state, the major internal obstacle to the further progress of the Chinese revolution. This caste is committed by its social interests, its historic methods of rule, and its program to oppose any steps toward real workers democracy.

It is a striking fact that from the "hundred flowers bloom" campaign of 1957 and the strikes of the Shanghai workers during the Cultural Revolution to the demonstration at Tien An Men Square in April 1976, it has been the Chinese working class that has presented the main social and political challenge to bureaucratic rule, although it remains a small minority of the population.

With the new rise of workers' struggles, the most important opportunity for the building of a mass revolutionary Marxist party in China since the 1920s is coming into being. Such a party is indispensable if the Chinese workers state is to be freed from the stranglehold of the bureaucracy.

Revolutionary-minded militants in the colonial world who accept Mao's methods as the road to revolution in their own countries are making a grievous mistake. The third Chinese revolution was a product of the worldwide revolutionary upsurge at the end of World War II. In most of the world, Stalinist practices succeeded in preventing revolution. In a few countries where the Stalinists were forced to fight because of the recalcitrance of their bourgeois enemies, the revolutions took an extremely distorted form because of the bitter opposition of the Stalinists to the mobilization of the working class. Among the grossest expressions of these distortions are the bureaucratic dictatorships that Mao imposed in China and Ho Chi Minh installed in Vietnam.

Basing themselves on the peasants, the Chinese Stalinists fought on the basis of class-collaborationist and populist programs that put off the socialist revolution to the far future. Although Chiang Kai-shek refused to attempt to co-opt such a program after World War II (as he had done in 1925-27), many bourgeois nationalist forces have emerged in the colonial world who have played that role with disastrous consequences for the workers and peasants. Sukarno in Indonesia, Bandaranaike in Sri Lanka, Nasser in Egypt, and Boumedienne in Algeria, are examples.

The struggle against such populist demagogues requires a revolutionary-socialist party that bases itself on the working class. Such a party must seek to combine the demands for national liberation, the workers struggle against capitalism, and the peasant battle for land in a strategy aimed at winning power.

The record of "people's war" must be examined critically. The last thirty years have seen attempts in dozens of colonial lands to achieve victory along the path of rural guerrilla war. In only a few have victories been won. In many of these (such as Algeria, Mozambique, and Angola) the leaders, unable to decisively break the power of imperialism, have turned against the workers. Despite the widespread utilization of guerrilla war, the great bulk of the nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America continue to suffer imperialist domination in its neocolonial form.

At the same time, the social changes that

Continued on page 26



APRIL 1927: Chiang Kai-shek (at right) ordered massacre of workers in Shanghai. Chiang's troops pulled suspected CCP members out of textile factory pictured above and executed them in front of co-workers.



...China

Continued from page 25

underlay Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution have continued to deepen. The industrialization of the neocolonial lands has increased significantly, the working class has grown substantially, while the social weight of the peasants has declined somewhat. Is it correct under these circumstances for revolutionists to desert the working class in favor of a peasant orientation, or would it prove wiser to continue to focus on the one class with a direct stake in the battle for socialism?

The conditions that pushed the working class into the background of revolutionary struggle in the colonial lands during the post-World War II period are changing. Significantly, the ability of the Stalinists to effectively mislead and stifle the workers movement has weakened.

The prestige of the Moscow variety of Stalinism has been dealt severe blows by Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes. The Maoist brand is now experiencing a similar fate as millions recoil from its counterrevolutionary foreign policy and as growing internal protest exposes the anti-working-class character of the government.

Under these circumstances, it is likely that revolutionary opportunities in the neocolonial lands will tend increasingly to resemble those of the second Chinese revolution.

Trotsky's criticisms of Stalinist policy in China, including his critique of what came to be called "people's war," have weathered the test of events. The

strategy proposed by Mao is leading its remaining adherents to a dead-end.

In the coming years the ideas embodied in *Leon Trotsky on China* will demonstrate their usefulness as a guide to the problems of revolutionary strategy in the colonial world. Understanding them will prove to be a decisive factor in building revolutionary parties capable of preventing tragic defeats like that dealt to the second Chinese revolution.

...abortion

Continued from page 4

charges of income tax evasion, claiming he owed \$354,799.14 in back taxes.

Later this month he must appear before the Quebec College of Physicians and Surgeons, which is trying to suspend his license to practice medicine for a year.

Surely Dr. Morgentaler is entitled to more than a quiet withdrawal of the charges. He has a right to be compensated for the incredible abuses he has suffered. The government threw him in jail for ten months even though no jury found him guilty; ruined his health; took all his money; and prevented him from making a living.

Dr. Morgentaler still has need of his supporters. The campaign to defend him is not over.

The next goal for defenders of Dr. Morgentaler and women's right to abortion must be to step up the campaign to repeal the abortion laws.

The freeing of Dr. Morgentaler is just the opening the prorepeal forces need to demand that the abortion laws be removed from the criminal code.

"The time is now," Dr. Morgentaler

told the *Militant*, "to push for a change in the law."

The three jury acquittals and the wave of public protests against the persecution of Dr. Morgentaler show that the majority of Canadians are opposed to the law. The majority believe that women are entitled to safe, legal abortions. The federal government must feel the constant pressure of that majority opinion if the campaign for abortion rights is to succeed.

We are not just dealing with what Dr. Morgentaler calls "a bunch of fanatics who are opposing safe, legal abortion for women." It is true that the so-called right-to-life groups and their backers in the Catholic church hierarchy are a considerable obstacle to women's campaign for abortion rights.

But it is also true that governments—both federal and provincial—and the courts are lined up with the "right to life" fanatics to try to prevent women from winning this elementary right: the right to decide whether or not to continue a pregnancy. They will not give up easily.

Women can win this struggle. A public protest campaign was successful in winning freedom for Dr. Morgentaler. The courts were forced to back down; the federal government was forced to back down; and Quebec City was forced to back down. A similar campaign can succeed in finally wiping these reactionary laws off the books.

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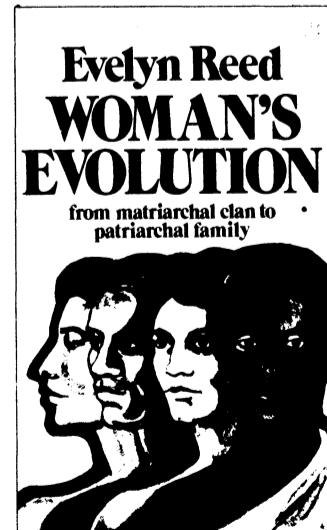
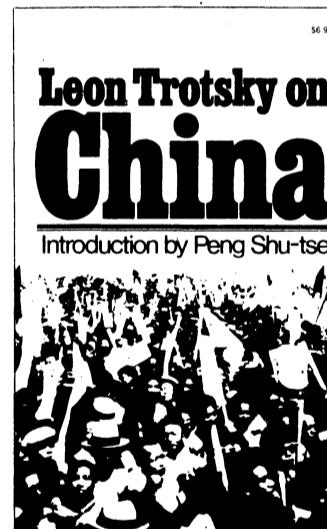
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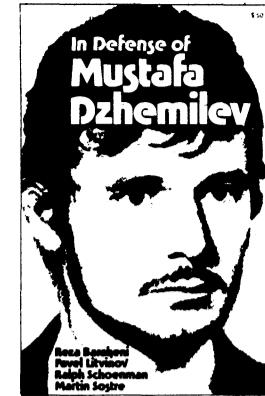
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New York, Brooklyn-Williamsburgh: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 57 Graham Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11206. Tel: (212) 387-5771.

New York, Brooklyn-Crown Hts.: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 220-222 Utica Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11213. Tel: (212) 773-0250.

New York, Chelsea: SWP, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 200½ W. 24th St. (off 7th Ave.), New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel: (212) 989-2731.

New York, Lower East Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, Libreria Militante, 221 E. 2nd St. (between Ave. B and Ave. C), New York, N.Y. 10009. Tel: (212) 260-6400.

New York, Queens: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 90-43 149 St. (corner Jamaica Ave.), Jamaica, N.Y. 11435. Tel: (212) 658-7718.

New York, Upper West Side: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 786 Amsterdam, New York, N.Y. 10025. Tel: (212) 663-3000.

New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 853 Broadway, Room 412, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel: (212) 982-8214.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 8986, Hyde Park Station, Cincinnati, Ohio 45208. Tel: (513) 321-7445.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2300 Payne, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Cleveland Heights-East Cleveland: SWP, P.O. Box 18476, Cleveland Hts., Ohio 44118. Tel: (216) 861-4166.

Columbus: YSA, Box 106 Ohio Union (Rm. 308), Ohio State Univ., 1739 N. High St., Columbus, Ohio 43210. Tel: (614) 291-8985.

Kent: YSA, c/o Bob Laycock, 936 Carlisle Ct., Kent, Ohio 44240. Tel: (216) 678-2489.

Toledo: SWP, P.O. Box 2325, Toledo, Ohio 43603. Tel: (419) 242-9743.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 3928 N. Williams, Portland, Ore. 97227. Tel: (503) 288-7860.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College, Edinboro, Pa. 16412.

Philadelphia, Germantown: SWP, Militant Bookstore, 5950 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 19144. Tel: (215) VI4-2874.

Philadelphia, West Philadelphia: SWP, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

Philadelphia: City-wide SWP, YSA, 218 S. 45th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19104. Tel: (215) EV7-2451.

Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 5504 Penn Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 15206. Tel: (412) 441-1419.

State College: YSA, c/o Lynda Joyce, 169 W. Prospect, State College, Pa. 16801. Tel: (814) 234-2240.

RHODE ISLAND: Kingston: YSA, c/o Box 400, Kingston, R.I. 02881.

TENNESSEE: Knoxville: YSA, P.O. Box 8344 Univ. Station, Knoxville, Tenn. 37916. Tel: (615) 525-0820.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Student Activities, Texas Union South, Austin, Tex. 78712.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2215 Cedar Crest, Dallas, Tex. 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684.

Houston, Northeast: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Books, 2835 Laura Koppe, Houston, Tex. 77093. Tel: (713) 697-5543.

Houston, North Side: SWP, YSA, Pathfinder Bookstore-Libreria Militante, 2816 N. Main, Houston, Tex. 77009. Tel: (713) 224-0985.

Houston, South-Central: SWP, 4987 South Park Blvd. (South Park Plaza), Houston, Tex. 77021. Tel: (713) 643-0005.

Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 3311 Montrose, Houston, Tex. 77006. Tel: (713) 526-1082.

San Antonio: SWP, 1317 Castroville Rd., San Antonio, Tex. 78237. Tel: (512) 432-7625. YSA, P.O. Box 12110, Laurel Heights Sta., San Antonio, Tex. 7

YSA fights for free speech

By Brian Williams

MOUNT PLEASANT, Mich.—“They’re just like book burners. They’re out to suppress socialist ideas on this campus,” commented Nan Bailey, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance.

On October 22, the campus bookstore here at Central Michigan University canceled its order of



(From left) Tom Smith, Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison

Pathfinder books. “If the books are shipped they will be refused on arrival here,” wrote James Webb, assistant bookstore manager.

This was not just any cancellation. It was a calculated political move.

Two days earlier CMU cops had arrested three YSA members—Brigid Douglas, Jim Garrison, and Tom Smith—on trumped-up charges of criminal trespass and occupying a university building by force. If convicted, each YSA member faces \$1,650 in fines and six months in jail.

The socialists were part of a national campaign team touring Michigan to build support for the 1976 Socialist Workers party ticket. At the time of their arrest, they were simply distributing campaign literature outside a public lecture by former CBS news correspondent Daniel Schorr.

Immediately after the arrest, the CMU administration apparently told the bookstore to cancel its recent order of socialist literature.

CMU’s bookstore has had an account with Pathfinder Press since 1970. It has ordered more than \$1,000 worth of socialist and other political books. The YSA has been active on campus since 1969.

But now the administration is going after the YSA.

What are the ideas the administration is trying so desperately to suppress? The titles canceled by the bookstore answer that question. They include: *Capitalism in Crisis; Feminism and Socialism; Racism, Revolution, Reaction; Introduction to*

Continued on page 23

YSA convention

Chicago, Dec. 31-Jan. 1

Come to the Young Socialist Alliance national convention in Chicago December 31-January 2. The YSA will be discussing the fight against racism, support for liberation movements in southern Africa, how to fight cutbacks, defense of women’s rights, the Puerto Rican and Chicano struggles, socialism—all the ideas that administrators at campuses like Central Michigan University want to ban.

To find out more about the convention or to join the YSA, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (listed on page 27) or write to YSA, Post Office Box 471 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003.

Hit racism in schools

Black boycott in S. Carolina

By Baxter Smith

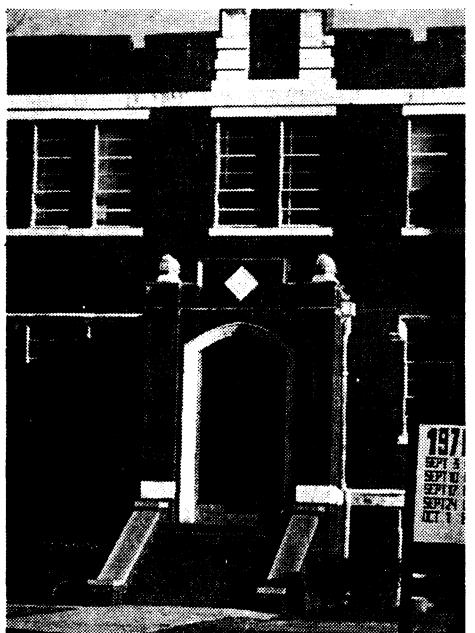
ST. MATTHEWS, S.C.—Joan Richards was growing antsy on the hard oak pew as the church slowly filled up.

She was an early comer. The last meeting was standing room only, so she was taking no chances, because lately her feet have been bothering her.

“Oh, I didn’t know folks was coming church-dressed,” she said, flashing a sheepish glance at her slacks and pullover outfit. Some women were trickling by in fancy hats and stoles. Two or three wore white gloves.

From all over Calhoun County Blacks were filing into Bethel AME church here for an evening meeting to learn about how the school boycott was going.

There was Oscar Means, a leader of the St. Matthews Parents Organization; and Franklin Keller, president of the Calhoun County NAACP. Young Phyllis Larrymore was present; and so was Donald Jenkins, a recent St. Matthews High graduate.



St. Matthews High School, scene of racist abuse of Black students.

People filled every pew. Teen-agers stood in the back and some crouched in the wings. Preachers in sharp business suits sat near the altar.

About 300 people eventually came out. Some 40 percent of them were students.

The meetings have been going on every few nights or so since the walkout began. This December 9 meeting was more spiritual than informational with preachers and hymns taking up the agenda. But the subject—perseverance—was unmistakable.

Racist administrators

Since November 5 the public schools in this sparsely populated soybean-growing county, which curves through central South Carolina like a cotton-mouth moccasin, have been hit by a Black student boycott.

Franklin Keller of the NAACP says it all began after the 1970 federal desegregation ruling ordering the merger of Calhoun County’s two school systems, one white and one Black. Since then, whites have been on a one-way street out of the system, leaving it 89 percent Black today.

The whites have gone to private, segregated academies. But behind them remains a nearly all-white school administration.

This administration, Black students explain, stands against them.

Corporal punishment is used—liberally—they say. At Bethlehem elementary school, students get beaten with an automobile fan belt. High school students have been forced to do janitorial work—clean urinals and scrub floors. Some have washed school buses, all in violation of this state’s written code protecting student rights.

Hair & dress codes

At St. John High School in nearby Cameron, Black students face arbitrary hair and dress codes. Flogging with sticks is not uncommon.

Black student dissatisfaction began



Part of crowd at December 9 meeting. Blacks have vowed to boycott until demands are won.

coming to a head last semester when the school administration said that all student government association offices must have a balance of whites to Blacks. If Blacks were elected as president and vice-president by the students, then one of them would have to step aside so a white student could be appointed.

“We didn’t think that was fair,” said Phyllis Larrymore, a seventeen-year-old St. Matthews senior. “Because sometimes a white student just might not have the support if the students think he’s not qualified. We questioned it, but there wasn’t anything we could do about it.”

But the “straw that broke the camel’s back”—the expression often heard around here in explaining it—was the homecoming incident in October.

The St. Matthews school administrators changed the long-standing method of selecting the homecoming queen.

Instead of a one-student, one-vote procedure for choosing their favorite candidate, the students were told that this year the candidate who raised the most money for homecoming activities would automatically become queen. This made it doubly difficult on Black candidates, who were left with the meager resources of the Black com-

munity from which to get money.

As a result, two whites became queen, having tied in the amount of money they raised.

“On homecoming night we [Black students] didn’t have any representatives at all,” Larrymore said.

She recounted how the students had asked the principal, Ernest Stokes, about it. But he didn’t do anything.

“He kept putting us off for weeks and weeks and the students got tired of it” Larrymore said. “Finally, Mr. Stokes agreed in a meeting with us that things had been bad at the school.

“But he told us, ‘Don’t stir up muddy water.’ That’s the words he used. So that was it, and on Friday, November 5, we walked out.”

Put foot down

The NAACP’s Keller said that Black parents had known about the problems in the schools for quite a while. They immediately backed the students.

“We decided to put our foot down and take a stand,” he said. “We were tired of being pushed around all the time.”

Keller said the county “power structure” had handled the problem wrong. “But we’ll send them a message come

Continued on page 23